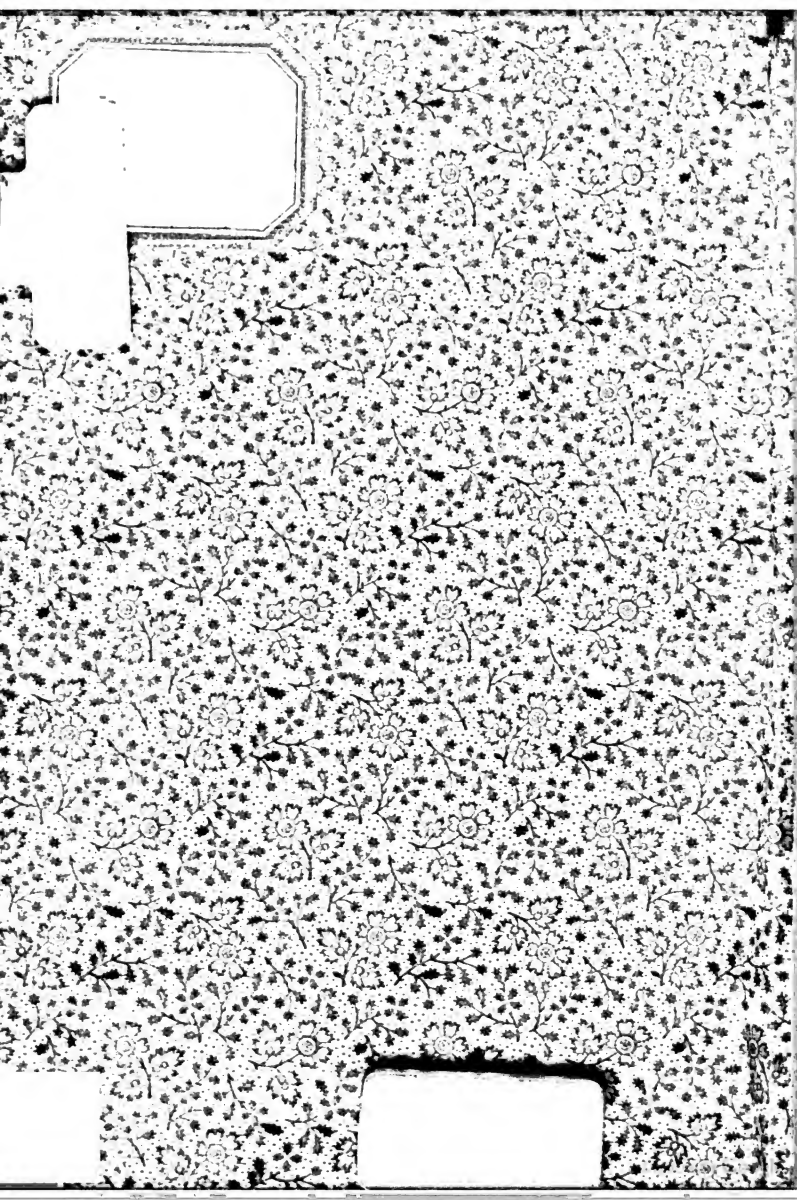




*History of the Reformed Church
of Germany, 1620-1890*

James Isaac Good



MAP OF In the 17th



OF GERMANY
7th Century



J.L. Smith 27 S. Sixth St. Philadelphia

HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMED CHURCH
OF
GERMANY.

1620—1890.

BY
REV. JAMES I. GOOD, D. D.,
*Author of the "Origin of the Reformed Church in Germany" and "Rambles
Round Reformed Lands."*



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TO THE MEMORY OF

MY UNCLE,

THE LATE

REV. PROFESSOR JEREMIAH HAAK GOOD,

PROFESSOR OF DOGMATICS

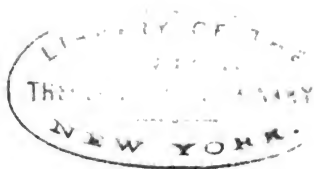
IN HEIDELBERG THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,

TIFFIN, O.,

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED.

He gave me the first directions how to study Reformed Church history, and my theological views were in perfect harmony with his on the historic position of the Reformed Church. In recognition of his kindly influence and useful labors, this book aims to perpetuate his memory.





PREFACE.

The Reformed Church has a history which deserves to be known, and it is the duty of her children to tell it to the world. This book is a continuation of *The Origin of the Reformed Church in Germany* and brings the history of that Church down to the present time. It will supply a great want, for no book has existed in English which covers this period or showed why the founders of the Reformed Church in the United States emigrated to this western world. Indeed, there is no single book in German which covers this ground, as the Reformed histories in Germany are local. This is the first attempt to comprehend and systematize all the Reformed Church history of Germany. We trust that this contribution to Church history will be a great aid to the Reformed everywhere (especially in the United States), and of interest to all students of Church history of other denominations. The author wishes to say that he has had great difficulty with some of the German proper names, as two forms of the same name are often given by good authorities, as Kirchmeyer (Kirchmeier), Strassburg (Strasburg), Wyttenbach (Wittenbach), etc. Also in the dates of the days of the Thirty Years' War he has found differences existing between good authorities, owing, perhaps, to the change that took place at that time from old time to new.

The author wishes to express his obligations for aid to Rev. F. Brandes, of Buckeburg, and Rev. Mr. Hapke, of Berlin, for aid on the Union in Germany; to Rev. Mr. Cuno, of Eddighausen, for aid on the doctrinal position of the Reformed Church; also to Rev. Prof. Charles Muller, of Erlangen; Rev. Charles Krafft and Rev. Charles Krummacher, both of Elberfeld, and Rev. S. Goebel, consistorialrath of Munster. He is also under obligations to Rev. Prof. B. Warfield, of Princeton, and Mr. Wm. Hinke, for aid rendered, and to Rev. Mr. Dulles, of Princeton, and Rev. Mr. Gillett, of New York, for books loaned from Princeton and Union Theological Seminary Libraries.

May this book make the Reformed more familiar with their own Church history, and thus love her more and labor more earnestly for her perpetuity. We would echo the wish of Court preacher Krummacher on page 463. "O that the spirit of an Untereyck and a Tersteegen would come again, to revive our Church by the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, that she may do greater things for the Lord in the future than she has done in the past."

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BOOK I.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The Thirty Years' War was a remarkable war. Whether we consider the great length of the war, or its awful devastation, or its intricate diplomacy, or the magnitude of its issues, each, or all of them combined, make it one of the greatest wars of history. To us it is, however, only interesting for the religious issues that were at stake. And it is especially interesting to the Reformed, because their very existence depended on its results. Three great principles were involved in the war. The first was *Protestantism*. The very existence of Protestantism was at stake. It was a combined attack of the Romish princes on the Protestant nobles. Had they succeeded, they would have oppressed and circumscribed the Protestants more and more, until they had crushed them out of existence. This plan is clearly seen in the Edict of Restitution, when the Romish powers ordered the Protestants to restore abbeys and endowments. This was

only the beginning of the end, when they would have compelled the Protestants to give up everything, yes even their very existence. Gustavus Adolphus saw this danger clearly. He felt that if the Romish powers had once destroyed Protestantism in Germany, it would not be long before they would cross the Baltic and destroy it in Sweden, too. So he left his land to save Protestantism in another land. But the result of the war was that it guaranteed the safety of Protestantism. Since that time there has been no combined attack of Romish powers on Protestants. Protestantism was saved. A second principle at stake was *religious liberty*. This had been only partially recognized before at the Peace of Augsburg, 1555, which allowed Protestants the privilege of existence, but placed too much religious power in the hands of the princes, making the prince the religious head of the people, and "like prince, like people" became the motto. The Protestants were fighting for more religious liberty. The Peace of Westphalia at the close of the war settled the principle of religious liberty—that a man's faith did not depend on his prince's faith, but on his own conscience. The Reformed may well be proud of their record on this question. For the first prince to declare for religious liberty, even before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, was the Elector of Brandenburg, who (1614), though Reformed, gave to his Lutheran subjects religious liberty. At the close of the war the Reformed Count of

Wied (along the Rhine) threw open his territory to the persecuted of all lands ; so that in the same year that Roger Williams suffered banishment from Massachusetts, the Moravians founded a church at Neuwied. Religious liberty was one of the greatest boons of the war. A third great issue of the war was the *existence of the Reformed Church*.* The defeat of Protestantism would have crushed the Reformed Church. Its victory saved her. This war may, in a certain sense, be said to have been a "Reformed war." It is true that a Lutheran, Gustavus Adolphus, saved Germany, and so Lutheranism became prominent in the war. But it is just as true that the war was especially directed against the Reformed, and so they come out prominently, too. For it seemed as if the Emperor determined that if he could not destroy Protestantism, he would destroy its most extreme form, Calvinism. He dethroned one Reformed prince after another ; first the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate was put under the ban ; also Duke Christian of Anhalt ; then Duke John Albert of Mecklenburg, besides lesser Reformed princes. He forced Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Cassel to abdicate, and afterward dethroned Landgrave William, his son. He threatened the Elector of Brandenburg, so that he trembled before Wallenstein for fear his throne, too, would be taken away. And what lands did the Em-

* This is a point overlooked by secular historians, but of great importance to us.

peror most devastate with his armies? The beautiful Rhine Palatinate, the fertile counties of Nassau and the rich lands of Cassel—all Reformed lands. This hatred of the Reformed is further shown at the Peace of Prague, where Romanists and Lutherans united in a peace which left the Reformed out entirely.

But though the war was directed against the Reformed, it resulted in their complete vindication. The Peace of Westphalia recognized them. Before that peace they had had no legal rights in Germany. They had not been mentioned in the treaty of Augsburg, 1555, (for at that time there were hardly any Reformed in Germany). And as they were not protected by the Peace of Augsburg, they existed only by right of sufferance, but they were not accredited by law. Their rights could be taken away from them at any time, because they were not protected by law. But the Peace of Westphalia was the first to recognize them as a Church. It was the first to mention them by name. And more than that, it guaranteed to them their rights. After that they had as much right to exist in Germany as either the Lutherans or the Romanists.

Into the labyrinth of the war we have not time to enter. Its campaigns were intricate, and its diplomacy was more intricate. We can only describe the war as it touched the Reformed. In secular history it is usually divided into three parts—the period before Gustavus

Adolphus, his campaigns, and the period after his death. But for ecclesiastical history there is a better division : I., to the Edict of Restitution (1629) ; II., to the Peace of Prague (1635) ; III., to the Peace of Westphalia (1648).

I. To the Edict of Restitution (1618—1629). These were years of continual victory for the Emperor ; until flushed with his victories over the Protestants, he issued an edict (March 6, 1629) which ordered that all monasteries and endowments which the Protestants had taken from the Catholics since the treaty of Passau, 1552, should be returned to them. " Thus by the stroke of a pen he undid the work of a century." This edict took away many churches and revenues from the Protestants.* And it not only decreased their power, but increased that of their enemies. For as these properties were restored to Romish bishops, they regained their seats in the German Diet, and the Romish party there was augmented. This edict opened the eyes of the Protestants in Germany. They saw that if the Emperor would take away a part of their property, he would then take away all ultimately. They became so alarmed that they began to combine to oppose the Emperor. This opposition became so serious that the Emperor was led to delay in carrying out the edict for a year. That delay saved Protestantism. For by

* After the peace, says Hausser, large territories belonged to the adherents of the Reformed faith : the Electoral Palatinate, Hesse-Cassel, Zweibrücken, Cleve, Berg, and the electoral line of Hohenzollern. These territories were deprived of their legal existence by the last article of this peace and sacrificed to the unlimited power of the Catholic reaction.

the end of the year Gustavus Adolphus had radically changed the aspect of affairs by his victories. The Catholics had lost their power and could not carry out the edict. Still it was not repealed during the war, and at any time when the Protestants became helpless, the Romish Emperor could again enforce it against them.

II. The second period was to the Peace of Prague (1629—35). By the year 1635 all parties had become thoroughly tired of the war. The Romish princes supposed the Protestants were so wearied that they would be willing to compromise so as to stop the war. They therefore threw out the bait to the Lutheran princes that they should come to a peace that ignored the Reformed Church entirely. The Peace of Prague differed from the Edict of Restitution, in that it did not order all properties taken from Catholics before 1552 to be returned, but changed the normal year back to 1627, instead of 1552. It also lengthened the time for restoring these to three quarters of a century. The peace was to last for forty years, and then measures were to be taken to settle matters amicably. Almost all of the Protestant states, even the Reformed, were so weary of the war that they accepted the peace. It came very nearly closing the war. But it did not, because it failed on two points—first of all to guarantee the Reformed their rights and their position; and second, it failed to reinstate the Reformed Elector of the Palatinate to his dominions. For the Reformed were too

large and influential a Church to be ignored. As a result the Landgravine of Hesse-Cassel refused to sign the peace. And finally the new Elector of Brandenburg joined her in demanding rights for the Reformed.

III. So there was a third period to the war (1638—1648)—mainly an era of diplomacy, rather than of war. It became evident that the issues of the war were too intricate to be settled merely by blood. And so diplomacy came in to cut the Gordian knot. The Romish princes by this time realized that they could not destroy Protestantism in Germany. And the unsatisfactory results of the Peace of Prague revealed that the Reformed Church could not be crowded out. So the Peace of Westphalia (the negotiations lasted from 1644—48) closed the war. The peace gave the Reformed recognition and guarantee. They were mentioned by name in it, and from that time had legal standing in the empire. The peace also declared 1624 as the normal year, that is, properties that were Protestant in 1624 should be returned to them if taken away. This undid the evil effects of the Emperor's Edict of Restitution. The peace gave back the Palatinate to Elector Frederick's heirs, and also separated Switzerland from Germany, so that the Emperor had no control over that republic. This brief summary shows how vitally this war touched the Reformed.

CHAPTER II.

THE SUFFERINGS OF THE PALATINATE.

SECTION I.

THE WAR IN BOHEMIA.

The beautiful Rhine Palatinate was one of the most powerful states in the German empire. But alas its prince was not as great as his land. Elector Frederick V., though possessed of many amiable qualities, was not the man of wisdom and action needed for those troublous times. Although head of the Protestant Union (a league of Lutheran and Reformed states of Germany founded by his father), he soon revealed his lack of leadership. He was elected King of Bohemia August 26, 1619. Two days later his rival to that throne, Archduke Ferdinand, of Austria, was elected Emperor of Germany. This placed Frederick in a very awkward position. For it was a question whether, if he became King of Bohemia, he was not a rebel against his Emperor as well as his rival to the Bohemian throne. It was also very evident that if Frederick accepted that throne, there would be war. For Ferdinand was not the man to give up his claim to the Bohemian throne without a struggle. And the Catholic



HEIDELBERG CASTLE JUST BEFORE THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.
The Beautiful Gardens of the Castle in the Foreground.

League of Germany would support Ferdinand against Frederick in a war, because Frederick's election would give a majority in the electoral college to the Protestants. There were seven Electors, and twice before, when the Protestants had gained the fourth Elector, and thus had the majority, force had been used to deprive the Protestants of that electorate, and it would be done again. The Catholics were not willing to give up the majority of Electors in Germany without a struggle. In view of these difficulties it is no wonder that Frederick was undecided whether to accept the Bohemian throne or not. Older and wiser heads would have hesitated more than he did.

And yet there were also inducements why he should accept. Just then it looked as if Austria were falling away from Ferdinand and Romanism. In Bohemia and Silesia hardly one-thirteenth of the population were Catholics. Bethlen Gabor in Hungary had become Reformed. At the Diet of Neusohl, May 1, 1820, Ferdinand's deposition was talked of, and if so, Frederick would have become King of Hungary. It looked as if Ferdinand's dominions were falling to pieces beneath him. In view of all these facts, no wonder that Frederick was undecided. He said to the Duke of Wurtemberg: "Alas, if I accept the crown, I will be accused of ambition. If I reject, I shall be branded with cowardice. However I may decide, there is no place for me or my country." In his perplexity he sought the advice of his friends. But here again

there was a division of opinion. Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Cassel, the princes of Baden, Baireuth and Zweibrücken opposed his acceptance. But on the other hand, his uncles, Count Maurice of Nassau and the Count of Bouillon, together with the Duke of Wurtemberg, urged him to accept. In his own court of the Palatinate most of his advisors urged him to decline, or at least to wait for more information. Only two of them, Camerarius and Meinhard of Schœnberg, urged him to accept. He sent to his father-in-law, King James of England, for advice, especially as he would probably have to call on him for aid. But communication between Germany and England was slow in those days. The people of England were heartily in favor of his accepting it, but King James was an uncertain quantity.

Two influences probably led Frederick to come to his decision. One was a religious one. Camerarius declared that his election was a call of God. And Scultetus, his eloquent court preacher, urged him to accept for the sake of spreading Protestantism. Scultetus even expounded a chapter of Revelation, so as to sanction Frederick's enterprise, in order that the gospel and especially the Reformed doctrines might be spread to the remote parts of the German empire. The other influence was his wife, who, it is said, urged him to accept, saying: "I would rather eat bread at thy kingly table than feast at thy electoral board." (This saying is however not proved by the best historians,

although Schiller quotes it.) But Elizabeth was undoubtedly favorable to his acceptance.*

So finally, without waiting for the reply of his father-in-law, he publicly announced in October, that he had accepted the crown. A young man of only twenty-two years of age, he took on himself issues at which wiser and older heads would have trembled. As one writer says : "He opened war against half the world." Still some nations, as Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and even Venice, recognized him as king. Frederick hoped that even if he were defeated in Bohemia, he would only loose Bohemia and the expense of the war, but he expected that his hereditary territory of the Palatinate would remain his. How little did he know the crafty policy of his enemy, the Emperor, who saw in all this an opportunity to dethrone him in the Palatinate, and to destroy Protestantism with him. His departure from Heidelberg for Prague was ominous. His mother, the Electress Juliane, who inherited the statesman's insight from the Prince of Orange, opposed Frederick's acceptance. She uttered a fateful prophecy as he left : "And now the Palatinate

* She wrote to him : "Since you are persuaded that the throne to which you are invited, is a call from God, by whose Providence are all things ordained and directed, then assuredly you ought not to shrink from the duty imposed; nor if such be your persuasion, shall I repine, whatever consequences may ensue. Not even though I should be forced to part from my last jewel, and to suffer actual hardships, shall I ever repent of your election."

moves to Bohemia." And then she went to a sick bed because of her anxiety.*

The next day he started from Heidelberg with a retinue of eighteen carriages. He traveled through the Upper Palatinate, and arrived at the Bohemian border at Waldsassen. Here he was received with great honor by the people. Scultetus preached a sermon on Christian Unity, based on the beautiful 20th Psalm. The women and the children gathered around to kiss the garments of, or prostrate themselves before, the beautiful Queen Elizabeth.†

Reception followed reception until by October 21 they arrived at Prague, one of the largest and most picturesque cities of that day. The whole population seemed to have gathered at the beautiful park called the Star, at the foot of the White Mountain. Magnificent was Frederick's entry into Prague. Before him rode four hundred citizens dressed in the uncouth style of Zisca, the great Hussite general, with steel caps and armor, iron lances and broad

* The day before Frederick's departure was Sunday. The clouds poured in torrents. Frederick went to the Reformed church of the Holy Ghost and bade his people farewell amid sighs and tears. His wife's chaplain preached on the ominous text, "Whereas ye know not what shall be on the morrow. Go to now, ye that say to-day or to-morrow we will go to such a city and continue there a year, and buy and sell and get gain." Strange to say Frederick remained just a year in Bohemia.

† One of her admirers thus wrote about her beauty :

So when my mistress shall be seen,
In form and beauty of her mind,
By virtue first, then choice, a Queen,
Tell me if she were not designed
Th' Eclipse and Glory of her kind.

bucklers, and with pewter cups and platters for their ensign, which they rattled as a salute to Frederick. The horses were adorned with silver and gold. Elizabeth rode under a canopy of gold and violet not more splendid than her own complexion, while beside her on horseback rode Frederick with uncovered head. The procession lasted three hours. The next day Scultetus preached a sermon on "the blessing of Christian unity."* The Coronation took place November 4 in the the chapel of St. Wenceslaus. There the administrator of the Hussites (who had been identified with the Calvinists) crowned Frederick, praying that he might be "like Joshua, the victorious hero ; like Moses, all truth and righteousness ; like David, devoted to the glory of God ; like Solomon, teach wisdom ; like Hezekiah, manifest piety." The ringing of bells and firing of guns announced the coronation. On the 6th of November Elizabeth was crowned with great pomp.

But Frederick soon found that the throne of Bohemia was not a bed of roses. Four things tended to harass and weaken his power. The first cause was a *social* difference

* He rose in eloquence until he burst forth in an impassioned exclamation : " And is not this God's work that Frederick is now your elected king ? It is a decree of providence, and shall not God bring higher and greater things to pass ? Is it not a miracle that in the very country where during fifteen years discouragement was thrown on whatever savored of evangelical purity, is it not a miracle of miracles that even here we should have an evangelical king." In conclusion he insinuated that Frederick would ultimately ascend the throne of the German empire.

between Frederick's polished court and the plain Bohemian people. Many of their customs appeared old fashioned, yes, ridiculous, to Frederick's followers. On the other hand, while they had been accustomed to see dignity and majesty in their king, Frederick's levity tended to lower him in their eyes. Thus on one occasion he gave great offense by going out sleighing in a velvet coat with a white hat, decorated with yellow feathers. The splendor and extravagance of Frederick's court also caused dissatisfaction, for the Bohemians were economical as well as plain. The Bohemian ladies criticised, yes, were shocked at the French style of dress of the court. This alienation was increased by the laughter of some of Frederick's followers at the boorish manners of the Bohemians. Thus on St. Isabella's Day the wives of certain citizens prepared for the queen a gift of Bohemian cakes, and comfits, and loaves of bread. These, crammed into sacks like measures of meal, were brought to her. The queen received them kindly, but her retainers laughed at the gift. One of her pages snatched one of the loaves, twisted it into fantastic shapes, which he put on his hat like a wreath. Others followed his example, and the poor Bohemians went away with their feelings wounded.

These social differences were increased by the *religious* differences. Most of the Protestants were Hussites. These, with the Lutherans, were careless about many religious rites, upon which the Reformed looked with

aversion. The ancient altars had been retained in the cathedral at Prague. But Scultetus soon was unable to contain himself, and preached against images as idols. Inflamed by his sermons, the few Calvinists countenanced by some nobles, as Baron Rupa, suddenly entered that church in order to prepare it for the communion of Christmas, tore down the crucifix which had been venerated for centuries, and also put away the altars, pictures and statues. One of the statues Scultetus addressed, saying, "Help thyself, if thou canst, thou poor, silly thing ; help thyself." On Christmas Frederick celebrated the Lord's Supper after the Reformed fashion. The Calvinists then tried to remove the great sacred crucifix which for many centuries had stood on the bridge over the Moldau River at Prague. This caused a reaction against them, for this crucifix was a sort of national ensign to the people, and had never been removed, even by the Hussites. Popular sentiment prevented its removal by the Reformed. After this Frederick visited Silesia to receive the homage of the Silesian nobility. Here again his zeal for the Reformed showed itself. Most of the Silesian Protestants were Lutherans, only two of its princes being Reformed, the Duke of Brieg and the Count of Schonaich or Beuthen. John Christian, Duke of Brieg, was however, a very prominent noble. Although only twenty-six years of age, he was the oldest of the Silesian nobles and the general of the Silesian army. His wife was a Brandenburg princess,

the lovely "Dorel" (her name was Dorothea Sibylla), who was famous for her kindness to the poor and her interest in the public schools. For this he called her his "upper schoolmaster." She founded as early as 1616 a Bible Society to provide the poor with the Bible. She spoke several languages and was a fine musician. She was as good and beautiful as he was brave. Scultetus greatly rejoiced in going with Frederick to Breslau, because he longed to bring the Reformed faith to the land of his birth and to the home of Ursinus, one of the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism. When Frederick arrived at Breslau, he held in the great room of the castle a Reformed service. Scultetus preached, and Buchwalder, the court preacher of the Duke of Brieg, assisted. Frederick also issued a letter of majesty, allowing the Reformed to have a church of their own. All this caused great opposition among the Lutherans. Thus Frederick's zeal for the Reformed faith, which had so few adherents in Bohemia and Silesia, affronted the zealous Lutherans and Hussites.

But the third reason was the most important difficulty. It was a *financial* one. Money was scarce and the Bohemians were little accustomed to pay taxes, when levied on them. Camerarius was greatly depressed in spirit when he found out the lamentable condition of the finances. To add to these difficulties, jealousies broke out between the Bohemian and German nobles. Count Thurn murmured, because a German, the Duke of Anhalt, was made commander of the

army. The troops were not paid and mutinies broke out, often just at the most critical times. Two months before the battle of White Mountain, the wages due the soldiers rose to five and a half million gulden.

A fourth difficulty was a *political* one. Frederick, to the great disappointment of the Bohemians, failed to bring any allies to their cause. France refused. The Protestant Union of Germany, of which Frederick was the head, refused to aid them. King James of England was too stingy to aid his son-in-law. The only ally he had was Bethlen Gabor, who was unable to help Frederick in his extremity. So Frederick in his desperation concluded an alliance which gave great offence. He came to an understanding with the Sultan of Turkey. This act was looked upon by many of his subjects as an unholy alliance with an infidel. The Lutherans took it up, saying that the Calvinists were half Mohammedans, because both believed in predestination. The feeling against the movement became so great that on April 15 Scultetus preached a sermon justifying his master's course.

All these reasons tended to destroy Frederick's authority and success. And while Protestantism was thus dividing, Catholicism was uniting. Unlike the Protestant Union, the Catholic League took up arms in this contest and marched to help Ferdinand. The Austrian army of the Emperor and the German army of the League united against Prague. The Bohemian army retreated before

these two armies, until they met in decisive battle, November 8, 1620, at White Mountain, three miles from Prague. The Bohemian troops lacked money and discipline, while the Austrians had their religious fanaticism inflamed before the battle by a Carmelite monk, who went up and down the ranks with a crucifix, saying, "Fight and ye shall prosper in the name of the Lord of hosts." The imperial (Austrian) forces attacked the Bohemian left. But the young Duke of Anhalt made such a bold sally that he almost defeated the enemy. Indeed the news came to Prague that they were defeated. But he was finally forced back. Tilly attacked the Bohemian right. Then just at the critical moment the Hungarian cavalry in the Bohemian army turned to flee. In doing this they disorganized the Bohemian infantry behind them, and finally started Frederick's own Palatinate troops into flight. Count Schlick's Moravian regiment stood like a rock, but they were too few to stem the tide. The Bohemian army melted away into a panic. The battle was all over in an hour. Four thousand Bohemians strewed the battle-field, while one thousand more were drowned in trying to swim the river Moldau. The imperial army lost only 250.*

Elizabeth was at service (for the battle occurred on Sunday), and the minister had just read, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," etc., when the thunder

* Frederick was not in the battle. For this he has been charged with cowardice. But it seems he went to get money to stop a mutiny of his troops just on the eve of battle.

of the battle shook the church, and the minister left the pulpit, and the congregation rushed to the gate to see the battle. Frederick was at dinner with the English ambassador, but hastened to the battle-field. When he arrived at the city gate, it was, alas, to see his army in flight. The beautiful Star Park, where a year before he had received the homage of the Bohemian nobles, was now the scene of his defeat. In his agony he almost threw himself from the tower to the ground, but controlling himself, he ordered the gate to be opened to receive the fugitives and save them from the enemy.

It was soon found that the army was too demoralized to undertake the defense of the city. So the next day at 9 A. M. Frederick left Prague in haste for Breslau. Young Count Thurn offered to defend the citadel for a few days, so as to give Elizabeth time to escape. But she, with noble heart, said : " I forbid the sacrifice. Never shall the son of our best friend hazard his life to spare my fears. Never shall this devoted city be exposed to more outrageous treatment for my sake. Rather let me perish on the spot than be remembered as a curse." The enemy, on account of the terrible condition of the roads, could not follow Frederick. If the snow through which Frederick and his company passed, had fallen a few days before, it would have saved Frederick from defeat. At Breslau Frederick tried to regain his fortunes by organizing the Silesian states. But, alas, everything seemed demoralized by his

defeat. The Elector of Saxony turned against him, as he was influenced by his court preacher, Hoe von Hoenegg.* Because the Elector of Saxony had warned the Silesian states against him, Frederick felt he was unsafe in Breslau. He sent his family ahead to his brother-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg. He himself soon after followed, spending the last night in Silesia with Count John of Beuthen. But on account of the increasing danger he soon left Brandenburg and went to Hague with his family, where in the suburb Rhenen his family found an asylum during the terrible war. Here they lived in seclusion. The common people sneered at them as the beggar king and queen. With Frederick fell the Reformed Church of Bohemia and Silesia. Scultetus fled with Frederick to Breslau and then went to Heidelberg. But he soon had to leave Heidelberg on account of the war, and went to Emden, where he preached for many years till he died. He was the most eloquent preacher among the Reformed, being called "the oracle of Germany." But he seems to have been lacking in judgment, although he was devotedly attached to the Reformed faith.†

* For the latter had been a minister at Prague some years before, and had been compelled to leave because of his strict Lutheranism. He now had an opportunity to revenge himself, and he poisoned the ear of his master against the Bohemians with their Reformed king. But the short-sighted Elector, in refusing to help Frederick, saw a year later the Lutherans driven out of Prague and Bohemia. He thus received his just reward.

† The Count of Beuthen had founded a Reformed gymnasium in 1613 in his home which seemed destined to be a Reformed centre for eastern Germany. But after Frederick's defeat he was treated as a criminal, because of his friend-

Bohemia suffered worse than Silesia. As Protestantism fell, Romanism rose. Ferdinand brought back the Jesuits to reconvert that land to Romanism. The property of the Protestants was confiscated, their pastors were banished, their Bibles burned, their dead left unburied. They were shut up in cages and cells. Mothers bound to posts had their babes laid at their feet, so that the sufferings of their offspring might appeal to them to go to Romanism. The Protestants scattered to other lands. In seven years more than 30,000 families emigrated, and a population of three millions was reduced to 800,000. A night of a century and a half rested on that land until the Edict of Toleration by Emperor Francis Joseph II. at the close of the eighteenth century.

The closing scene of this tragedy took place on June 21, 1621, when 27 of the leading nobles of Bohemia, some of them Reformed, were led out to be put to death. They spent the night in prayer, and from Psalm 86 : 17, asked a token or sign of God. At 4 A. M. they were taken in covered carts to the city square. Suddenly at five, just

ship with Frederick. However he escaped personal injury, because he had a hunting castle in his territory so near Poland, that in time of danger he would escape over the line into Poland and be safe. But the war closed the gymnasium in 1629. Duke John Christian of Brieg, the other Reformed noble, was at first put under the ban of the Emperor, but he returned soon after, when the Elector of Saxony went to Silesia. His land, however, suffered severely during the war. Brieg suffered a terrible siege from the Swedes in 1642. By 1675 the last Reformed prince of his line died, and after that the Reformed of Silesia had to go to Lissa in Poland for worship, for the Reformed were not tolerated in Silesia.

before their execution, a double rainbow like a crescent appeared. At the sight of it some fell on their knees, some clapped their hands, some thought of Noah's rainbow, others spoke of the rainbow at God's throne. Count Schlick was the first to be beheaded. Within two hours the execution was all over. The heads and hands of twelve of them were hung on the east tower of the bridge over the Moldau river, as a warning to all traitors and heretics. Professor Jessenius, who had predicted the deposition of the Emperor through Frederick's war, had his tongue torn from his mouth before he was put to death. On that tower for ten years those ghastly, weather-beaten bones hung, until the Saxon army captured Prague and reverently took them down.* So ended Frederick's inglorious reign.

One result more of Frederick's defeat must be noticed. Frederick had hoped that, if defeated, only Bohemia would be taken away from him, but that his hereditary province, the Palatinate, would remain to him, and he could retire to it again. But the Emperor knew his opportunity, and at Vienna capped the climax and completed the matter by putting Frederick under the ban of the empire, January 29, 1621, and declaring him an outlaw for treason against the government. He also put three of Frederick's most active helpers under the ban

*By a curious coincidence the sword of the executioner was discovered 257 years after (1878) in Edinburg, Scotland. On it were the names of the executioner and the victims.

with him—Count Christian of Anhalt,* the Count of Hohenloe, and the Margrave of Jagerndorf. This arbitrary and unjust act of Ferdinand was finally approved by the German Diet in 1623, and the electoral hat of the Palatinate was transferred to Bavaria. The Emperor authorized Bavaria, Spain and the Catholic League to carry out the ban against Frederick and take possession of the Palatinate. This suited Bavaria, for she wanted Upper Palatinate as indemnity for her war expenses of thirteen million florins. It suited Spain, for she wanted to capture the Lower Palatinate. It suited the Catholic League, for they wanted to destroy Protestantism in the Palatinate. But the ban was very unjust. For Ferdinand had taken oath, when made Emperor, not to pronounce the ban without giving the defendant a hearing. Yet he refused Frederick the right, which belonged to the meanest of his subjects, namely, of trial by his peers. Again, Ferdinand had taken oath that he would not decide any matter of importance without the action of the Electors. But here he deposed Frederick without asking their advice. This act was unjust, because Ferdinand was an interested party. He was plaintiff as well as judge, for he was the enemy of Frederick in the Bohemian quarrel. The ban was the more unjust, because Frederick had never declared himself in rebellion against his sover-

*He fled to Flensburg, but was soon reconciled with the Emperor, and entered his service in 1629 as Imperial Chamberlain.

eign, the Emperor. Besides he had not provoked the war in Bohemia, but had come in after it had begun, rather as an agent, not as a principal. And even if Frederick were guilty of treason, Ferdinand had no right to include his whole family in the punishment, by depriving them of their hereditary rights as heirs of the Palatinate.

Ferdinand's motive in all this was very evident. "Since God," he said, "has given us an opportunity to root out these heretics, the precious moment ought not to be neglected." He aimed to uproot Protestantism, and especially the Reformed faith. Thus, too, the Catholics regained their power in the Electoral College, by taking away one Protestant Elector and giving it to a Catholic, thus making the college stand five Romanists to two Protestants. It began to look as if Rome were again in a fair way to regain Germany.

So ended Frederick's inglorious reign. It had lasted only a year. He has therefore been styled the "Winter-king" by the Jesuits, who prophesied that his reign would not last till summer. Ten years later the Snow-king came from the North to avenge him, as Gustavus Adolphus appeared to gain the victories that compensated for Frederick's defeat.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION II.

THE WAR IN THE PALATINATE.

We have thus far followed the war in Bohemia. Let us look at the effects of Frederick's deposition on the Palatinate. For a little while the Protestant Union made an attempt to defend the Palatinate, although it had not aided Frederick in Bohemia. The Bavarians marched into the district east of the Rhine, while Spinola, the Spanish general, marched up the west side of the Rhine from the Netherlands with 24,000 troops. By a quick movement they cut the troops of the Union into two sections, separating Hesse-Cassel in the North from Wurtemberg and Baden in the South. Meanwhile the poor people of the Palatinate seemed to realize the great danger that was impending over them. At Heidelberg in January, 1627, after the public service, many would remain in the churches for prayer for their country. When the prayer and fast days of the following May came, many of the people spent most of the day in the churches—a most extraordinary thing in the Reformed Church, but showing their great anxiety. Owing to the scarcity of money, many of the Reformed ministers were not paid. Such was the condition of affairs when the news came that

Frederick was defeated at Prague. And when the Emperor put the ban on Frederick, their anxiety became very great. But in spite of it all, the people remained true to Frederick, even after the ban was placed on him ; for the ministers persisted in using the title of King when they prayed for him, thus showing their loyalty to him, even though the Emperor had deposed him.

But, alas, for the Palatinate, the Protestant Union, which was the only power that could protect her, began to fall to pieces. The dissensions between Lutherans and Reformed paved the way for this. The defeat of Frederick at White Mountain completed the dissolution. As early as April 12, 1621, it was dissolved, although there still remained some troops in the Palatinate. Sir Horace Vere was there with 5000 English and Dutch troops, sent by King James to protect the territory of his son-in-law. Vere was aided by the Palatinate troops under Colonel Obertraut, whom the Danes afterwards called "the German Michael" for his bravery. Cordova, the successor of Spinola, marched up the Bergstrasse, the great road from Frankford to Heidelberg. Electress Juliane, Frederick's mother, fled at their approach to Brandenburg, where she found an asylum at Kœnigsburg during the war.

The Spaniards then attacked the brave city of Frankenthal. The Reformed of the Palatinate spent October 8 as a day of prayer for the salvation of Frankenthal. So bravely was it defended, that the Spaniards met with a

rebuff. And, lo, the prayers of the people were answered. For suddenly, as if from the clouds, Count Mansfield appeared with his army from Bohemia, and the Spaniards withdrew from Frankenthal. But a worse than Cordova now took charge of the Austrian army. This was Tilly, "the Austrian butcher," "the Attila of modern times," "the Alva of the Thirty Years' War," in his cruelties. No grass ever grew in his tracks. He had been educated as a Jesuit, but had exchanged the Jesuit vestments for the mailed coat of a soldier. He now came to add the cruelties of religious persecutions to the other woes of the war. Tilly approached Heidelberg, but first attacked Dillsberg, "the Gibraltar of the Neckar," perched like an eagle's nest on the cliff. After furiously storming it, he demanded its surrender. The commander asked for three days to consider. In the meanwhile he sent his chaplain, Forgeon, to Heidelberg, to find out if there was any chance of his getting succor. He returned with the startling news that King Frederick had suddenly appeared in the Palatinate. His presence was worth a thousand men, and inspired hope for his lost cause. For Frederick had returned in disguise to his own land, although he did so through great dangers. At Bitsch he even had to drink to the success of the Austrians, in order to hide his identity. And two French gentlemen almost led to his discovery, for one of them cried out when he saw him, "The King of Bohemia!" Nor did Frederick arrive in the Pala-

minate a moment too soon to save his fortunes. For his general, Count Mansfield, was already intriguing with the Emperor about surrendering. The Reformed inhabitants of the Palatinate rejoiced that they had their prince once more among them. Frederick again visited Heidelberg. The most touching scene was the return of Professor Pareus, the pupil and successor of Ursinus, to Heidelberg. When the Spaniards approached, he had fled to Neustadt, because he had so severely written against the Pope. But now that his prince was again in Heidelberg, in spite of the dangers, he came back to Heidelberg, because he wanted to die there. On June 9 (Whit-Sunday) he received the communion with the Elector and the congregation. The following week he passed, full of hope, from the Lord's Supper of earth to the Lamb's Supper in heaven.

The advantage, however, gained by Frederick's presence was only temporary. His ally, the Margrave of Baden-Durlach, who had assembled an army of 7000, was badly defeated at Wimpfen, May 6, 1622, and Mansfield retreated. Frederick now gave up all hope. His money failed, defeat after defeat disheartened him. He finally concluded that his territory and titles could not be regained by war, so he would try diplomacy. In an evil hour he dismissed his army. And the Palatinate, being without a protector, was left at the mercy of the Austrians, and the terrible ravage of the Palatinate began.

Only three places remained which the Emperor had not

taken—Heidelberg, Mannheim and Frankenthal. Tilly soon appeared before Heidelberg. From the Holy Mountain, on the opposite side of the Neckar, he began shooting at the city. But the garrison made a brave sally and drove the enemy back. Then he crossed the river and surrounded the city with forts and forces from Wieblingen to Schwetzingen. Heidelberg consisted of two parts, the city proper, in the valley along the Neckar river, and the castle on the mountain above. Both were strongly defended with extra fortifications. Thus on the Geisberg mountain there were two additional forts, Trutz-Bayern and Trutz-Kaiser, as a defiance to both Bavarians and the Emperor. Besides these there were smaller additional forts, as Crow's Nest and Horn-work. The garrison consisted of English, Dutch and Palatinate troops under Colonel DeMervin. The Bavarians took possession of the King's Seat on top of the mountain, above the castle. Tilly then began to draw his lines closer around the city. On August 26 he summoned the city to surrender. As the commander refused, he began bombarding the city. This continued for three days. Little damage was done, except that a few balls struck the church of the Holy Ghost, one of which broke into the tomb of Elector Lewis.* Tilly captured the Crow's Nest, September 12. On the fifteenth a trumpeter sounded from the Geisberg the signal to storm the city.

* One writer facetiously says: "Nobody was hurt except a cat and two roosters." But the fun of it soon passed away into a terrible reality.

But the garrison made a very brave defence and under Colonel Landschad drove the enemy at the Spire gate far out into the fields. Meanwhile the Bavarians had taken the Trutz-Bayern and Trutz-Kaiser, and from these opened a terrible fire on the city. Then the Croats came marching into the city from the other side of the Neckar. Colonel DeMervin was compelled to retire with his soldiers from the city to the castle, and leave the city to the mercy of the enemy, whose mercy was no mercy at all; for they murdered some of the citizens and burned seventy houses. For three days they ravaged the city. The great Reformed professor, Henry Alting, started to flee through the back door of his house, when an Austrian lieutenant met him saying: "I have killed ten men to-day with this club. If I knew where Professor Alting was, he would be the eleventh." Dr. Alting evaded the man's questions by saying that he was a teacher in the Sapienz College (for in addition to his duties as professor he taught there). Fortunately the officer was called away just then to prepare the church of the Holy Ghost for a Jesuit service. Alting hid in a loft, and was fed for awhile by an Austrian lieutenant from Tilly's table. By and by he was able to flee to Groningen, where he became professor. Finally the brave commander, DeMervin, surrendered the castle, September 16.

Tilly having captured Heidelberg, proceeded against Manheim, which was defended by the brave Englishman,



THE SIEGE OF HEIDELBERG (1622).

I. Castle. II. Church of the Holy Ghost. III. St. Peter's Church. IV. Franciscan Church and Sapienz College.

Colonel Vere. He began the siege there September 29, by a bombardment of Eichelstein. As Vere had not troops enough to defend the whole city, he brought the troops and supplies to the citadel, Friedrichsberg, after burning that part of the city that lay nearest the citadel. Here their suffering became very great. The soldiers were despondent, food was scarce. Many became sick. Powder began to give out. There had been no money for a long time, there was no physician, and little wood to warm themselves against a severe winter. So Vere finally surrendered November 8.

There now remained in the Palatinate only one fort that had not surrendered, the brave Frankenthal, the dower of Electress Elizabeth. Tilly appeared before it in November, expecting an easy victory, but he reckoned without his host. It was the bravest town in the Palatinate. Its inhabitants were the descendants of brave ancestors, who had left the Netherlands for the sake of their religion, and they were ready again to lay down their lives for it. They made such a bold and successful sally, that Tilly did not deem it wise to begin the siege so late in that winter. So the brave defenders with joy saw the enemy depart. But most shameful to relate, four months later that brave city was given up without a stroke. The bravest colony in the Palatinate was conquered without a chance to defend itself. For as the town had been the dower of King James' daughter, James had placed a small army in it to protect her

interests. At this time, however, Spain was coquetting with him, trying to get his son to marry a Spanish princess. The Catholic statesmen saw their opportunity. They persuaded James to agree to an armistice for 15 months, during which time negotiations between England and Austria could be completed. During that time Frankenthal was to receive a Spanish garrison. He agreed to it and the town was given up without a battle. When, however, he demanded the restoration of the town, it appeared that there had been no stipulation in the armistice for English troops to pass through the territory of the Emperor. Consequently, even if it were given up to him, he could not get to it. It seems hardly possible that James would allow himself to be deceived by such trickery. At any rate the Spaniards gained possession of it, and as possession is nine points of the law, they held it not for fifteen months, but for ten years.

If the Palatinate suffered from the enemy, much more did the Reformed Church suffer. She was left without any defenders, while the Jesuits came in to add religious persecutions to the other woes of the inhabitants. At the surrender of Heidelberg, the Reformed received no guarantee that they would be allowed to retain their worship. Even before the three days' plundering of the town was over, the Jesuits celebrated a Te Deum in the Church of the Holy Ghost. Tilly gave that Church to the Jesuits, and the other Reformed churches to other Romish orders. The

papal nuncio boasted in his report to the Pope that "in the city from which the Calvinistic Creed, the Heidelberg Catechism, had been published, the holy mass was now celebrated and the true faith proclaimed." The Reformed ministers were all ordered to leave by February, 1623. This was very severe on them, as it drove them out homeless in the cold winter. The citizens appealed for their ministers that they be allowed to remain, but were refused. The ministers in the country charges were allowed to perform their duties a little longer, provided they would announce Catholic feast days from their pulpits. Those who would not do so, as Dallaus and Schefflen, were fined twenty ricksthalers. The Elector made November, 1625, the limit for all Reformed ministers either to leave or become Catholics. Two hundred and thirty lost their places. Many of them found places in Zweibrücken, others found an asylum at Nuremberg. Meanwhile Tilly had virtually given the city to the Jesuits. They lived in the castle like princes. The famous Reformed University of Heidelberg went down with the city. Its professors were dismissed in 1622. In 1626 only one student was matriculated. It was reopened June 16, 1629, with Jesuit professors. Thus the Reformed lost their most famous university in Germany.

One of the greatest losses was the Palatinate library. Since the destruction of the library at Alexandria, Egypt, by the Mohammedans, few libraries had arisen as extensive as this. For more than a century the Electors had been

collecting books, many of them being rare manuscripts. This library was the pride of the Palatinate people. Even before Heidelberg was taken by Tilly, the Pope had had his eye on this library. He had loaned the Emperor 100,000 crowns, and the Emperor found that the easiest way to return this was to present this library to the Pope. So, soon after the capture of Heidelberg, Allatius, the learned secretary of the Vatican, arrived at Heidelberg. He brought relics and rosaries for the soldiers, and the blessing of the Pope for Tilly. He examined the library and selected the most valuable books—432 Greek, 1,956 Latin, 289 Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac, 848 German, 3,542 in all. The rest he gave to the Franciscans and Jesuits at Heidelberg. He also went into other libraries, both private and public, and took what he wanted as the property of the Pope. But he had reason to feel the bitter hatred of the people, who looked on this as nothing less than robbery. When he wanted to get these books packed, nobody would help him. No one would give him a place to lodge. No carpenter would make boxes for him, no ropemaker would supply him with rope. They would not give him even a coarse packing needle. All (cloth, nails, string and boards) had to be brought from a distance, as from Spire and Worms. He thus writes to Rome about it: "Let me get away from here, from these enemies of the Holy Father, who, when they see me, look on me as a wild animal, a bear, a lion." However, when Tilly returned, January 14,

he made requisition on the people for Allatius' needs. And finally in February Allatius left Heidelberg with 50 wagons loaded with 196 chests of books, guarded by 60 soldiers. They were carried over the Alps to Rome, where they filled thirty library cases in the Vatican. The next Elector tried very hard in 1663 to have this library returned, but in vain. When Napoleon took Rome in 1797, 26 Greek and 12 Latin books were taken to Paris. These, together with 852 others, were returned to Heidelberg by the peace of 1815. When the university celebrated its 500th anniversary a few years ago, the Pope kindly (?) sent a catalogue of the library, but was careful not to return any of the books.

The persecutions of the Reformed increased. Having driven out the ministers, the government now proceeded to compel the people to become Catholic. On May 13, 1627, all the citizens of Heidelberg were summoned to the city hall and commanded to return to Rome. They refused to do so, whole trades declaring that they would give up their property and everything, before they would give up their Reformed faith. Thousands of them emigrated to other lands, while Catholics came in to fill their places. The Catholic Elector of Bavaria ordered them to become Catholic or emigrate by September 26, 1628, and if they emigrated, their property was confiscated. As a result of these persecutions, when the Edict of Restitution appeared in 1629, there was nothing left in the Palatinate to restore to the

Romanists, for they had taken everything already. The Reformed had lost their ministers, university and churches. The wonder is that the Church was not blotted out. Their steadfastness to the Reformed faith under such trials should be an example to us and make it doubly dear to us, their descendants.

But now matters took a different turn. Gustavus Adolphus, the "Northern Lion," the hero of the war, entered Germany. He had at one time been a suitor for the hand of the beautiful Electress Elizabeth of the Palatinate, Frederick's wife. And it has been suggested that he entered on his campaigns in Germany out of chivalrous attachment to her. But far more likely is it that he saw with a statesman's eye that the downfall of Protestantism in Germany meant the destruction of Protestantism in Sweden, yes in Europe. And therefore he entered on the war to save Protestantism as well as himself. As early as 1620 he wanted to support Frederick in Bohemia, and had sent some cannon to him. He even thought of forming a Protestant Confederation of all nations, but his Polish wars prevented him. He landed at Usedom, June 24, 1630, and began his triumphal march across Germany. But the Palatinate did not see his presence until December, 1631. On December 16 he crossed the Rhine at Oppenheim with four hundred men in the face of a severe fire from the enemy. When his army had crossed, they sang the hymn: "Aus Meines Herzens Grunde." This crossing of the

Swedes was commemorated by a column, having on it the crowned and sword equipped lion of Sweden, which was still standing about fifty years ago. The arrival of the Swedes led the Palatines to rise against their hated and cruel oppressors. For Gustavus did not allow his troops to plunder, as the Spaniards and Austrians had so shamefully done. He preserved strict discipline. He paid for everything he took. It is true, he taxed the people, but then he protected their property. Another reason why they welcomed the Swedes, was because they were Protestants. Many of the Palatines, as the Count of Beldenz, entered the Swedish army and raised troops for it. While everything was going towards the Swedes, everything seemed to be falling away from the Spaniards. Duke Bernard of Weimar suddenly appeared before Manheim, December 29, with three hundred soldiers. The garrison mistook his forces for the Austrians, and admitted them into the town, only to find out their mistake too late. The Spaniards in the garrison were cut down, while the Germans went over to the Swedes. By the end of the winter the whole of the Palatinate was in the hands of the Swedes except Heidelberg and Frankenthal. Under Swedish rule the wounds of the past twelve years began to heal. The Romish priests were driven out and the Protestant ministers returned to their shepherdless flocks. Foreign churches, especially the Scotch Reformed or Presbyterian, raised large sums of money for these suffering Palatines. At

Heidelberg the Church of the Holy Ghost was given back to the Reformed. The Reformed consistory was reorganized, July 6, 1633. The Reformed university was reopened with Henry Alting and Crollius as theological professors, but before they arrived at Heidelberg, all bright hopes were destroyed by the battle of Nordlingen.

When Elector Frederick heard that the Palatinate, after nine years of oppression, was again free, he could not stay away from it any longer. He hastened to Gustavus, although he had to borrow money from the Dutch government, while Hesse-Cassel loaned him his escort. To his mind, Gustavus could do nothing more just or important, than to restore the Palatinate to him, its rightful heir. So with the dignity of a King he entered Frankford on the Main, February 10.* Gustavus treated him as if he were a real King, instead of an exiled prince. On the first day he dined with Gustavus, the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, "the Judas of the war," omitted giving Frederick his title as King, but Gustavus sternly rebuked him. Frederick followed Gustavus in his victorious march southward to Munich. What must have been his feelings there, when he stood in the palace of his enemy and rival, Elector Maximilian of Bavaria, who had so unjustly supplanted him. Just ten years before, Maximilian had entered his palace at Heidelberg, and most ruthlessly

* Hereafter we will speak of Frankford on the Main merely as Frankford. When Frankford on the Oder is meant, we will speak of it as Frankford on the Oder.

robbed it. Maximilian had literally taken half of the Palatinate library to Munich. But Frederick shows his rare self-control and his forgiving spirit by returning good for evil. He might have robbed Maximilian's capital, as Maximilian had robbed him, but he did not. This manly forbearance created surprise. Still, while he did not revenge himself on his enemy, he pressed his claims on Gustavus for the Palatinate. Gustavus entered into negotiations with him. But the claims of Gustavus seemed to be too hard to Frederick. He demanded, first, that Frederick should pay all the costs of the aid the Swedes had given him, (this Frederick felt his impoverished land could not do); second, that Swedish garrisons be placed in all the main towns of the Palatinate and kept there at Frederick's expense; third, that Frederick should give the Lutherans religious liberty; fourth, that Frederick should recognize Gustavus as his permanent protector. But this would virtually make Frederick a vassal of the Swedish throne, and Frederick felt that, as a German prince, he could not pledge himself to a foreign ruler. Gustavus has been charged with ambition—that he hoped to found a Swedish empire in Germany. His treatment of Frederick would seem to look in that direction. These negotiations were in progress when Gustavus was killed at Lutzen, November 16, 1632. When Frederick heard this he felt as if his last hope was destroyed. Gustavus' death hastened Frederick's. He had already been suffering from a fever, and

he died November 29 (just 13 days after Gustavus), at Mayence, heart-broken by his sufferings and disappointments. So perverse were his fortunes that the Spanish commander had promised to surrender Frankenthal on November 12, but he postponed it till the 26th, and Frederick's last moments were not permitted to be brightened by that surrender. He was a kind father and devotedly attached to the Reformed faith. He suffered many afflictions. First his land was taken away and afterward his son in a very sad manner. For when he was in Holland this darling son, his heir, a boy of 15, had plead with him to take him to see the Dutch fleet, as it returned from the capture of the silver fleet of the Spaniards at Matanzas, 1628, with its twelve millions of silver. Unfortunately their yacht collided with a larger vessel and sank. Frederick clinging to a rope with great difficulty reached a boat sent to his assistance, but his son sank before his eyes crying: "Save me, father, save me." And yet in spite of his many misfortunes, Frederick became the ancestor of kings, the present royal families of England, Germany and Austria being descended from him. Thus after years of wandering, his body at last found rest in the grave. As his oldest son, Charles Lewis, was not yet of age, the Count of Simmern as guardian completed the negotiations of the Palatinate with the Swedes in 1633, by which the Palatinate and its income went to the Swedes (but they were to return it to Charles Lewis); the Luth-

eran religion was to be allowed free exercise, and the Palatinate made a permanent alliance with the Swedes. As a result of this treaty, the Swedes began to re-conquer the Palatinate. Dilsberg was stormed and taken on January 27, 1633. On May 5 the Swedish colonel, Abel Moda, entered the city of Heidelberg and took it without a stroke. On the 19th of May he bombarded the castle from Wolfesbrunnen above the castle. And on the 26th the people saw with joy those who had oppressed them so severely for ten years depart. Thus the Palatinate had rest for about three years under Swedish rule.

But worse days were to come. The disastrous defeat of the Swedes at Nordlingen, September 6, 1634, broke their power. They became too weak to protect the Palatinate. And when they did protect, their protection was often oppression. For although during Gustavus Adolphus' time the Swedes had kept up strict discipline, after his death this was lost, and often the Swedish army degenerated into mere hordes of plundering soldiers. To add to the sufferings of the Palatinate, the Bavarian army came back with its terrible cruelties. And between the two armies the previous sufferings of the Palatinate were light. "Now," says Rusdorf, "the Palatinate received extreme unction," for the cup of the Palatinate was not yet full. In 1635 the fatal peace of Prague decoyed many German princes from the Swedes, but at the same time shut out Frederick's children from their rights as

rulers of the Palatinate. The Swedes were forced to retire before the army of 20,000 under the Austrian General Gallas. As they retired, it became a question what to do with the body of King Frederick. His heart was in the Church at Oppenheim, his body unburied in Frankenthal. As he died an outlaw, the Swedes were afraid to leave it behind, lest it would suffer indignities in the hands of the Emperor's forces. Poor Frederick, an evil fate seemed to follow him, living or dead. As if he had enough trouble in his life, his body had to suffer after his death. His friends had it taken away in a wagon. Owing to the roughness of the roads, it was jolted about and sometimes pitched out of the wagons. At last it found a resting place at Metz, in the tomb of a rich citizen. From there it was taken to Sedan, but in the excitement of the times its burial place was lost.

The sad fate of its ruler was a faint type of the sadder fate of his land during the latter part of the war. It became the scene of marching armies. Where before one army had devastated it, now two ravaged it. First the Swedes came and drove out the Spaniards. Then the Bavarians came and drove out the Swedes. In the varying fortunes of the war, Neustadt, Alzei and Oppenheim changed hands three times in four months. Heidelberg surrendered, July 27, 1635, to the Bavarians. The garrison at Mannheim left the city because they could get no help. Brave Frankenthal finally surrendered, October

6, 1635, after a siege of two months. The previous occupation of the Palatinate by the Bavarians had been bad enough, but this was ten-fold worse.* The suffering of the land became worse and worse. The armies followed each other, each taking what the other left. Friends often turned out worse than foes, until the poor people seemed to have no friends any more. They were so constantly plundered that they lost hope and would not plant any more seed. Then famine came. The soldiers

* An eye witness thus somewhat facetiously describes the plundering of a house: What they could not take with them, they destroyed. Some stuck through the hay and straw with their swords, as if they had not had pigs enough already to stick; some shook the feathers out of the beds and filled them with bacon meat or furniture, as if that would be comfortable to sleep on. Others knocked in the doors and the windows, as if they had come to foretell an eternal summer. Beds, dishes, chairs, benches they burned; kettles they broke up. They gave the boy a Swedish bath. For they bound and threw the boy on the earth. One forced open his mouth with a piece of wood, another brought impure water from a pool and poured it until he lay stretched out stiff as if dead. In vain did he close his throat at first against this. He had to breathe and so the water went down with his breath. At last the breath failed, the bowels became distended, the eyes distorted, the ears swelled and through the nose and mouth some of the water bubbled. They then sprang on him with their feet producing intolerable pain, till the water, mixed with blood, came forth from every aperture of the body. Many died under such treatment. Others survived it but a short time, felt an indescribable weakness of the body, became yellow in face and trembled in all their limbs until the hand of death at last brought rest to them. The soldiers screwed up the farmers by their thumbs. They put a farmer into his oven and almost roasted him, so as to force money from him. Each band of soldiers had its own invention to torment the inhabitants, so as to extort money from them. They took one of the boys, bound him hand and foot, rubbed his feet with rock salt and brought a goat to lick it off. This so tickled him that he almost burst asunder with laughter and finally almost lost his reason through it. Of the terrible indignities to women this is not the place to speak. Often they had to suffer loss of both virtue and life.

ate up what fruit there was, and the poor people had nothing. They were compelled to eat grass and leaves of trees, yes, dead animals. The graveyards had to be watched, lest the newly dead would be stolen for food.* And now pestilence began to add its horrors to famine. Often in the villages there were not enough living to bury the dead. "The land," says Rusdorf, "was entirely ruined," as famine, murder and plague decimated the population.† The commissioner of the Emperor inhumanly declared that all had better starve than hinder the authority of the Emperor. No wonder that thousands of the inhabitants emigrated to more favored lands. The population greatly decreased. The people in their poverty lived in huts, and often became rough and wild. In 1636 there were only 200 farmers in all the rich Palatinate. There were more wolves than men. A student traveling from Heidelberg to Spire, had to go armed for fear of wolves. Many villages were empty and in ruins, and the fields were uncultivated and overgrown with thorns and weeds. Of Mannheim nothing remained but the walls, the city hall and some cellars.

But it was the Reformed who suffered most of all. The Elector of Bavaria issued a decree, Nov. 15, 1635, that all Calvinistic ministers must leave the land. Thus the

* An eyewitness says that in one place he saw crows, dogs and men feasting together on the body of a dead horse. Worse stories were told of parents being driven by starvation to eat their own children.

† See a German novel by Horn entitled, "Johannes Scherer oder Tonsor der Wanderpfarrer in der Unterpfalz."

Reformed people were left shepherdless in the midst of their sufferings. Their children were unbaptized, their dead buried without religious ceremonies, and the sick had none to pray with them. The only beautiful scene in connection with this dark picture is the liberality of the other Reformed Churches to their oppressed sister Church of the Palatinate. Switzerland became an asylum, but still many of the refugees died from exposure and want. It is said a thousand of them died at Basle in 1635. When the Bavarian general, John of Werth, became leader of the Bavarian army in 1634, he kept six Reformed ministers in prison, because they could not raise the money sufficient to pay the ransom he required. The protocol of the Reformed consistory who had fled from Heidelberg to Frankenthal, reveals the great danger of the Reformed ministers, who only saved their lives by flight. On January 16, 1635, a deputation went to Switzerland to ask for aid. In England much money was collected, especially through a pastor of Heidelberg, Rulitz, who had won the confidence of distinguished English families. They sent to the Palatinate at the close of 1635 about 100,000 gulden. Indeed, after all these sufferings, without pastors, churches or friends, it is a wonder that any Reformed Church continued to exist.

Finally in 1648 the Peace of Westphalia closed this awful war. The Palatinate was given back to its rightful owner, Elector Charles Lewis, the son of Frederick V., and a new electorate was created for him, the old electorate

remaining with Bavaria.* The Emperor agreed to pay to Frederick's widow 20,000 thalers and to each of Charles Lewis' brothers 400,000 thalers. The peace also gave religious liberty to the Lutherans in the Palatinate. But the peace did not make the normal year for the Palatinate the same as for the rest of Germany. This indefiniteness as to the year was afterwards taken advantage of by the Catholic Electors against the Reformed.

* The Electoral College now stood five Catholics to three Protestants.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION III.

THE RAVAGE OF ZWEIBRUECKEN.

Southwest of the Rhine Palatinate lay Zweibrücken (Deuxponts—two bridges), also governed by a branch of the Palatinate family. The Duke of Zweibrücken was a cousin of the Elector of the Palatinate and one of the lesser princes of that line. When Frederick left the Palatinate to go to Bohemia, he left the Duke of Zweibrücken, John II., as his governor in the Palatinate in his absence. When Frederick was defeated at White Mountain, the Duke resigned that position, and hoped, by taking a neutral position, to save his land from the ravages of war. But he soon found that neutrality would not save him. For three things made him hateful to the Emperor's forces—he belonged to the Palatinate family, he had been a member of the Protestant Union, and had also been governor for Elector Frederick V. So General Spinola entered his land with the Spanish armies, who ravaged parts of it, as Meisenheim, Bergzabern and Annweiler. The Reformed ministers at the command of their prince held many days of prayer to God for mercy on their land. At Nunsweiler the people fled to the woods, and their pastor, Exter, was murdered. Still the land did not suffer in the early part

of the war as did the neighboring Palatinate. Many Reformed ministers driven out of the Palatinate found positions here. The Duke wanted to replace the Heidelberg University after it was closed, by having Cellarius, a refugee from Heidelberg, give theological lectures in the gymnasium at Hornbach. However, the Edict of Restitution in 1629 affected Zweibrücken, especially the abbey of Hornbach. This had been a Benedictine cloister, but was now a prosperous Reformed gymnasium with many students. The Duke protested against giving it up to the Catholics, but the troops of the Emperor came in and drove out the Reformed pastor, Wernigk, from the parsonage. He however remained in the town, hoping that the enemy would soon leave. But the Catholic authorities would brook no opposition. They went with soldiers to his house, took him out of bed, and with his schoolmaster carried him off as a rebel to the fort at Madenburg. Both were thrown into prison, and were not released until they had promised they would not return again to minister to the Reformed people of Hornbach. The troops also drove away the Reformed professors and students there, and the gymnasium on which the Duke had bestowed so much care, was broken up. But the students and professors went to Zweibrücken, where the Duke opened the gymnasium, April 20, 1631.* As the gymnasium had lost its income with the loss of Hornbach,

* It was located in the Mint building, which formerly was used as a Reformed school and stood next to the Church.

the Duke appealed to Reformed Churches in other lands and received liberal responses. He himself set an example of liberality. He not only supported it privately for a year, but went up and down his land raising money for it among the churches.

The coming of Gustavus Adolphus stopped the further progress of the Edict of Restitution. When Gustavus Adolphus arrived in the Palatinate, December, 1631, the Duke came out from his neutrality. Neutrality had not saved his land from devastation, so he joined the Swedes. For a few years the land had rest. The cloister of Hornbach was given back to the Reformed and the gymnasium reopened there. But when the Swedes were so terribly defeated at Nordlingen, terrible times returned, far worse than anything the land had suffered before. Because the Duke had joined the Swedes, and his son had gone so far as to raise troops for the Swedish army, the land must now suffer severely from the imperial forces.* The Swedes and French were compelled to retire before the Austrians and Bavarians. The Duke felt the extreme danger of his land, and ordered a day of prayer to be observed in all the Reformed churches. The cruel General Gallas came with his imperial army who acted more like brutes than men.

* This association with the Swedes did not end with the war. Before a century was over, a Duke of Zweibrücken sat on the Swedish throne, and the King of Sweden was also ruler of Zweibrücken. The great Charles XII. of Sweden was of the Zweibrücken family, and was also Duke of Zweibrücken as well as King of Sweden.

Duke John II. of Zweibrücken was compelled to flee with his family to Metz in France, where he died, weighed down with sorrow for the sufferings of his land. The year 1635 was the most awful they had yet experienced. The whole country was overrun with wild hordes of Austrians, and only two places remained fortified against them—Kusel and Zweibrücken. The enemy first attacked Kusel. This town had no garrison, but the brave inhabitants determined to defend it to the last. As powder was scarce, they carried great stones up on the walls to throw down on the enemy. From their walls they could see the enemy tearing up the ripe harvests and burning the neighboring villages. It was a time of terror. By day the air was filled with alarms and by night with fear of fire. The enemy finally began negotiations with the citizens who so bravely defended the city. They assured the citizens that they wanted to go away, and offered to leave some of their men as hostages that the city would not be attacked again. The brave citizens gladly accepted this. When the enemy had gone, they left the walls and returned to their homes. Sweet was their sleep that night, but terrible their waking. The enemy were on the walls and had opened the gates before they were discovered. And now began a scene that beggars description, as the cruel Croats ravaged the town, so that by morning there was nothing left but rubbish and ashes. The few who survived were robbed of their cloth-

ing, and the wounded stole away in the darkness to Lichtenberg. Kaiserlautern was also taken. Almost all of its (1,500) inhabitants were put to death by the Croats, and the city was so destroyed that the streets became grown over with grass.

What happened to Kusel was the introduction to what was to happen at Zweibrücken, the capital of the land. Gallas appeared before that city, July 17, 1635. It had as its commander the brave Swedish Colonel Rose, Duke Bernard of Weimar's special friend. There was a small Swedish garrison to whose help the citizens nobly rallied. The Reformed pastors, brave Bachman and Wentz, aided in encouraging the people. The soldiers went on the walls, while the old men and women assembled in the Reformed church for prayer. The city was well fortified. But an unfortunate event occurred which almost led to its fall. The palace and castle of the Duke were located just outside of the city wall, but were protected by a strong moat. In this the citadel of the city a new danger appeared. Through the carelessness of a soldier fire broke out. Gallas saw his opportunity and at once ordered an attack on the city. The citizens had to fight both the foe and fire at the same time. They made a magnificent defence, and put out the fire and drove away the enemy. But when it was all over they found themselves in a deplorable plight through want of powder, and were almost compelled to surrender. When Gallas sent word to them demand-

ing their surrender, they held a council and determined that on the morrow at 8 A. M. they would give up the city. With trembling and praying the night was spent and the awful morning awaited. - Early in the morning, however, it was noticed that there was an unusual commotion among the enemy outside. And lo, when day broke, the enemy had departed, because they had heard that Duke Bernard of Weimar was approaching to save his friend, the brave Colonel Rose. The city was saved and the people streamed into the Reformed church to thank God for their deliverance. But their season of rest was brief, for in September following Gallas again returned with his army. Unfortunately the commander of the city was not the brave Rose, but a Frenchman who became so frightened that he surrendered without attempting any defence. Terrible were the results on the Reformed inhabitants. Gallas left as commander of the city the cruel Moriame, who allowed all kinds of lawlessness. One hundred and thirty buildings in that little city, among them the city hall, were destroyed. The castle was plundered, the armory blown up. At first the churches were not touched, but soon the soldiers broke into the beautiful Alexander Reformed church by forcing an entrance in seven places. In a very short time they had broken out the windows and broken up the benches. In its crypt many citizens had stored their valuables, thinking that the church would be spared. The soldiers tore open the 250 chests hidden there, and great was the

spoil. The library in the church was torn open and valuable historical documents scattered around. Then they went to the sepulchres of the Dukes and tore off the copper epitaphs, and robbed and scattered the dead bodies. They found the heart of the Princess of Rohan (which she had ordered to be placed there beside her sister, the wife of Duke John I. of Zweibrücken) and then threw it out from the cellar. The soldiers went to the roof and tore off the lead, so as to make bullets with it. They went into the houses of the citizens, digging up the fire-places, seeking for hidden gold. Field and cellar were searched for valuables. They even searched the women's hair and the men's beards for money. Great terror seized the people. No one went out on the street. No Reformed church service was held.

While these things were happening at Zweibrücken, they were more than equalled at Hornbach. The commander there was a special favorite of Moriame because of his loose habits. He first demanded money of the inhabitants. When he had obtained that, he destroyed many of their houses. The cloister which had been the gymnasium, was almost entirely in ruins. The Reformed church was turned into a stable, the cloister library was scattered beneath the hoofs of his horses. The first pastor, a son of Pantaleon Candidus, who had brought the country over to the Reformed faith, faithfully remained with his people, although he did not dare preach to them. The captain

put him under arrest. No complaints, no prayers, no offers availed to get him free. Amid the ridicule of the soldiers he was cast into the darkest prison in the city. In a few days he fell a victim to the plague. When it was evident he would not live, the commander allowed him to be taken home on promise of a heavy ransom. He was carried home, but the kindest care of his family failed to save his life. He died on Christmas, 1635. Even after his death the captain oppressed his family most cruelly, so as to get the promised ransom. He heartlessly compelled the son to dance before him, although the son's heart was sad because of his bereavement. Finally the town became so terribly devastated through the violence of the soldiers, that it could not support the soldiers any more, and they had to leave.*

Famine soon followed these terrible sufferings. The widow of the Reformed pastor at Rieschweiler died of hunger after seeing her five children starve before her.

* What happened in the towns was repeated with ten-fold horror in the country. The inhabitants of Bergzabern fled to the Vosges mountains, where they lived in holes in the ground or huts under the overhanging rocks. They kept watch continually, for if discovered, they were murdered and robbed. Their persecutions were various. Here the enemy plunged men into the deep spring or brook, and there threw them off the houses or rocks. Here they burned parts of their legs with indescribable agony or stuck a red hot iron into their open mouth. There they drove iron nails into the shoulders or cut the soles of the feet open and poured melted lead into the cuts. Sometimes they tied the people two and two and hung them like a kettle over the fire, and left them to burn or to die of starvation. Others they would fasten over a hearth fire by a chain, and place a stick between their legs and arms. Then they would seat themselves opposite each other and rock the unhappy one over the flames until death freed the martyr from their barbarities.

They ate grass, roots, burdock, nettles, mistletoe and other plants without fat or salt to add to their taste.* Plague followed on the heels of famine. Religious services were given up. Most of the pastors had either died or been compelled to leave. The Duke ordered the few remaining pastors to go through the districts to comfort and strengthen the sufferers as far as possible. The schools were closed and the children grew up ignorant, wild and rough. It is said that sixty Reformed pastors either died because of their sufferings, or were murdered.

Finally in 1644 Duke Frederick returned to his land. But what a land! The country was filled with thorns and thistles. In many places whole towns were deserted, not a cow, ox, goose or rooster was to be found. At Hornbach the number of citizens had become so small that they had to stay within the walls for fear of the wolves who infested the ruins, even by day, seeking food. The boundaries of properties could no longer be found. Generally these boundaries were not needed, as the neighbors had died. The palace at Zweibrücken was a ruin, so the Duke had to live at Meisenheim. Soon, however, the land began to recover under the blessed influences of peace.

* In winter their sufferings were the worst. All kinds of leather were cooked and used for food. Mice came in great numbers in the barren fields. These the famished inhabitants gladly devoured. Frogs and even toads were eaten. Carrion was sold and bought. Near Zweibrücken two women got into a quarrel over some carrion, and ended it by the one strangling the other. A boy was caught roasting a part of his dead sister, and a woman was put to death at Zweibrücken for cannibalism.

Churches and schools were reopened. Other Reformed lands raised money. Bachman, the intrepid pastor of Zweibrücken, traveled through Switzerland and other lands, and was quite successful in raising funds. The Reformed pastors who were living came back. Thus closed the terrible war, and yet through it all the Reformed people were wonderfully sustained by the blessings of their faith and the comfort of their Catechism.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION IV.

THE PERSECUTIONS OF PFALZ NEUBURG.

One of the other Reformed districts of the Palatinate was Pfalz Neuburg. When the Duke of Pfalz Neuburg, a Lutheran, received the district of Julich and Cleve, near Cologne, they contained quite a large Reformed population. He went over to Catholicism in 1614, and of course the Reformed had to endure many oppressions. These were intensified by the Thirty Years' War, when every effort was made by the Duke to weaken or suppress them. In Julich twenty Reformed congregations were destroyed, and in Berg twelve, and many congregations were forced to give up their churches. In twenty-one churches the Romish service was introduced by force. The Protestants were shut out from all public positions. This seemed a great privation, but proved to be a great blessing, for as the Reformed were not allowed to enter the state service, they began the great merchant trade, which since that time has filled the valley of the Wupperthal with manufactures, and made Elberfeld and Barmen great laboring centres in Germany. One of the Duke's edicts required all Reformed ministers to be driven out within a month. Often the ministers were pursued in the streets

and roads as robbers. And when the elders went to meetings of Classis or Synod, they would sometimes have their credentials filled out in the form of a business letter of credit so as to conceal their identity. In many places not only was preaching forbidden, but even the singing of Reformed Psalms.

In 1628 eighty Reformed churches were closed in Julich and Berg. The condition of the Reformed had become thus helpless, because the Spaniards had in 1615 taken Wesel, which was the citadel of that district, and from it they dominated the neighboring district in the interests of Catholicism. At Wesel, that centre of the Reformed faith, they introduced the Romish rites. The times changed, however, when in 1629 the Dutch captured that town.* They did it through the aid of a Reformed citizen, who made an opening in a part of the city wall that was not watched. The Dutch infantry secretly came in, but the cavalry could not get over the high wall remaining. Then occurred a providence. The Spanish garrison had by this time discovered the Dutch and began shooting at them. One of the first cannon balls struck the chain which held the bridge over the moat in the air, and which no one before had been able to loosen. The chain broke. The bridge fell of its own weight, and over it the Dutch entered the city. After a hard fight for two

* A historical novel on the capture of Wesel is "Die Retter Nieder-Wesels," by Horn.

hours, the Spaniards were defeated and the cry of jubilee went up from the inhabitants, "The city is Geus (Reformed)." This capture of Wesel completely changed the aspect of affairs in Julich and Berg. For the Dutch did as much to protect the Reformed from Wesel, as the Spaniards had done to oppress them. Indeed they virtually saved the Reformed Church there, which otherwise would perhaps have been crushed, had the persecutions continued. Still, although oppressed, many of the Reformed had kept up their services in caves and woods. We have time to mention only a few instances of the most remarkable instances of oppression.

Elberfeld has always been a Reformed centre in that district. Here Kalman, the pastor, held services in 1600, when the church was given to the Catholics, although there were only six families belonging to that faith in the town. The Reformed appealed to the Count of Lippe to intervene, but in vain. They then made a last appeal to the Duchess. The summons to vacate their church was sent to them fourteen days before Whitsunday. When the day came for them to give up their church, the Jesuits already stood outside waiting to take the church as soon as the congregation left it. The minister, to make the service as long as possible, ordered the congregation to sing the 119th Psalm with its eighty-eight verses, after the sermon. One can imagine with what anxiety they were sung. And lo, before the congregation was through sing-

ing the hymn, a messenger came from the Duke ordering the Reformed to retain the church. The Jesuits, discomfited, departed. The Reformed retained the use of the church till 1626, when it was again ordered to be taken away from them, although it had been Reformed for eighty years. And when they protested, the Catholic Duke declared that if any one did not want to go to a Romish service, he could stay away, and go to none. In 1629 their oppression became greater. The Emperor had issued his Edict of Restitution, and Tilly's army was not far away. The Duke then issued an order commanding all the Reformed to become Catholics. Boos (who was called the chaplain major of the army, and who used to go through the streets of Cologne with a long coat, attended by a crowd of young people praying and singing, with bells and flags, scattering holy pictures among the children everywhere, urging them to return to the Romish Church) was sent to Elberfeld. He asked that a Catholic chaplain be placed at Elberfeld for the sake of the soldiers quartered there. He demanded the use of the Reformed church, and when they refused to give him the key, the soldiers broke in the glass windows and entered by force. They took away the communion table, burned the books they found there, drove away the school teacher and pastor, and forbade those who did not come to mass to use the mills of the town for making flour. The Reformed then appealed to the Dutch to help them. Suddenly as a thunder clap out

of a clear sky, relief came, for Wesel suddenly fell into the hands of the Dutch, in 1629, and the Catholic power was broken in that district.

Solingen was also another Reformed centre, and it too had to suffer. The Duke had placed a garrison there in 1614 and in 1624. Boos came and demanded the church, so that he might hold services for the troops. But the brave Lunenschloss, the pastor, together with the mayor of the town, declared they would not give it up, unless it were taken by force. In 1626 the Romanists broke into the church and celebrated mass. But the Dutch came near, and so the Reformed took it again and held there a service of thanksgiving for its return on November 27, 1626. For this Lunenschloss was dismissed by the Duke, and the mayor put in prison at the toll-gate for six weeks, where he suffered severely from the intense cold, and the city had to pay 4000 ricksthalers. When they took the church again, Lunenschloss and the congregation went and held services at the city hall. But there Haltermund, the Romanist, so that they might not hold services, cut up the pulpit and benches, until the axe broke in his hand. They then held their services in the churchyard, and Haltermund reported the names of those who attended. Lunenschloss was arrested and taken before the captain, and forbidden to preach. Still he contrived to gather his congregation together in other places. In 1629 the Dutch captured the town and relieved them. But soon their

trouble began anew. The priests came back with the imperial soldiers. They did not at first take the church, but tried to annoy the worshipers. Thus they burned rags and bundles of straw outside the church, which made such a stench that the congregation had to leave. Then they took the church away from the Reformed. The Reformed in 1644, as they could not hold service in the church, held it on the church steps. For half a year they gathered before the closed church. Lunenschloss often preached there in the severe cold, in snow and rain. On June 11, 1645, the congregation broke into the side door of the church and held a service. On the next Sunday the councillors of the Duke came and took their positions at the pulpit beneath. Lunenschloss wanted to ascend the pulpit, but they held him back by his coat, and begged him to listen, while all the people cried out : "The pastor shall preach." Lunenschloss finally agreed, and the congregation departed. But that night the soldiers came to his house, broke into it, tore him from his weeping family, while he strengthened them with the comfort, that without the will of the Father not a hair could fall, took him to the market-place of the town, and wanted to shoot him there. Just then, however, orders came to them not to shoot him, but to transport him to Dusseldorf for trial. When the soldiers in charge of him came to Hilden, a carriage passed them, and as it passed, a noble lady looked out of the window. She inquired what was going on.

When she found that the prisoner was Lunenschloss, a Reformed pastor, she ordered him to come into her carriage. For she herself was a Reformed princess, the wife of the Romish Duke of Pfalz Neuburg. Her name was Catharine Charlotte, and she belonged to the Zweibrücken line of nobles. She was deeply attached to her faith, and had as her private court preacher the learned Hundius, who preached twenty years for her. He preached in her private chapel three times a week, and daily read the Scriptures with her. She was very glad to receive Lunenschloss into her carriage, so that she might converse with him. Behold now the interposition of God's providence ! The minister, who a few hours before expected to be killed in the market-place, arrived at Dusseldorf in the carriage of his princess. When Lunenschloss was brought before the Duke, the Duke asked him why he disobeyed him by serving his congregation. He said : " Your Highness, it is my duty to obey my God. He has made me a watchman over my congregation, and I must give an account to Him of every soul committed to my charge. Therefore, woe to me, if I leave her through fear of man. On the contrary, I am ready to sacrifice my life for the sake of my congregation and my God." The Duke was astonished at his steadfastness, and offered him gifts and honors, if he would renounce the Reformed faith, but he declared that nothing would make him give up his faith. The Duke was impressed by the noble constancy of the

man, and allowed him to return to Solingen and continue as pastor of his congregation until his death in 1651.

The Westphalian Peace brought relief to the congregation from their persecutions. This Duchess of Pfalz Neuberg was a beautiful character. She was very kind to the poor, and greatly aided the Reformed. The Romanists and her husband often annoyed her by trying to proselyte her to the Romish faith. But against them she drew up a Reformed confession of faith. She died in 1656. Her pastor, Hundius, read to her Psalm 38 : "Lord, leave me not." The Lord did not leave her. While her husband in his blindness prayed : "Lord, remember not her unbelief," she prayed her last words : "My Lord, give me more grace than I am worthy of."

The Reformed Church of Radevormwald had similar persecutions. In 1626 a priest named Grotfeldt demanded the Reformed church, and when the mayor would not grant it, he beat him black and blue, and entered complaint against him at Dusseldorf, so that the mayor and secretary were taken prisoners to Dusseldorf, and kept there seven weeks before they had a hearing and were released. Then Grotfeldt asked that as chaplain of the regiment he might have his services in the Reformed church from seven to nine A. M., and after that the Reformed pastor could have his service unhindered. But the priest did not keep his agreement long, but barred out the Reformed entirely, and took away their endowments. He also had one of the

Reformed pastors, Pollich, who was very sick, packed in a cart and taken to Cologne as a prisoner, where he died after an eighteen days' imprisonment. He also brought it about that the other Reformed pastor was taken as a prisoner to Kaiserswerth, and kept there for a year and a half till he died. The remaining pastor, Sunderman, was forbidden the pulpit. But if Grotfeldt hoped to gain a quick victory over this aged pastor, he was mistaken, for he bore all the persecutions of the Jesuits with great patience. Though driven from the parsonage and robbed of his income and of the pulpit, where he had preached for forty years, he still bore the persecutions for two weary years, and continued to break the bread of life, although forbidden to do so. Complaints were therefore made against him, as there had been against Pollich. On March 30, 1628, at seven P. M., soldiers broke into his house, took him a prisoner, and although the weather was very cold, took him to Kaiserswerth, where he was placed in a very dirty prison. His arrest caused a great sensation. Both the citizens of Solingen and the Reformed Synod of Berg took up his case, and protested and appealed, but in vain. He was kept a year and a half in this prison, for no other crime than his Reformed faith. Then God gave him rest in heaven, September 2, 1629.

The congregation was then without a pastor for three years. Only a very few went to the Romish service, the great body of the citizens, led by the mayor, remaining true

to the Reformed faith. Then a new pastor, Schorm, began holding services in a private house. The Catholics brought complaint against him to the government, and gained their point. But the punishment they desired for the Reformed minister fell on their own heads. For the Dutch and Swedes came in 1632, took the city and killed the priest in the meadow outside of the town. In 1633 the Romanists came back, as the Austrian army again approached. The town passed from the hands of one army to another. But the Catholics retained the church for service. It was not till 1646 that a Reformed pastor (after the pulpit had been closed for twenty years) again ascended the pulpit. And it was not till 1651 that the church was entirely given back to them.

Another illustration is told of the Reformed at Dusseldorf. As the Heidelberg Catechism was preached upon in the Reformed churches every Sunday afternoon, the Capuchin monks knew when the ministers would preach on the eightieth question. They would come that day and stand at the door eavesdropping, and listen to hear what he would have to say against the Romish doctrine. They would then denounce the pastor before the court, and he would have to pay a fine, which went into their pockets. It is said that on one occasion the Reformed pastor at Dusseldorf, as he ascended the pulpit to preach on this 80th question, saw two Capuchin monks standing in the church. He was very careful what he said, lest they could

bring charges against him. But at the end of the sermon, he gave out the 39th Psalm, whose first verse is based on the text: "I will take heed unto my ways that I sin not with my tongue. I will keep my mouth with a bridle, while the *wicked are before me.*" The monks heard it and never troubled him again.

These serve as illustrations of some of the persecutions of the Reformed in Pfalz Neuburg. Nobly and bravely they remained true to their Reformed faith, and thus laid the foundations of what is now the Reformed centre of Germany, the Lower Rhine.

CHAPTER III.

THE QUARTERING IN NASSAU.

SECTION I.

NASSAU BEFORE THE COMING OF THE SWEDES.

East of the Rhine, near the city of Frankford, was a district filled with counties ruled by lesser princes, called the Wetterau district. Of these the Counts of Nassau, Solms, Hanau, Isenberg, Sayn and Wied, were Reformed. There were four Nassau princes who were Reformed—the Counts of Dillenburg, Siegen, Hadamer and Dietz. These Nassau princes, although their sympathies were with Frederick of the Palatinate, yet out of fear of the Emperor withdrew from the Protestant Union and declared themselves neutral. Even Count John of Siegen, who had been in the Palatinate service for thirty years, left it and returned to his land. But neutrality did not save them. Their lands were rich and they were weak. So the Emperor used them as the places for quartering his armies. As early as 1622 the imperial general Anholt devastated a large part of Nassau. Then Tilly came from the Palatinate and quartered his troops there. This he did for five successive years. And then, as if one

army had not destroyed enough, finally Wallenstein also came with his army. And what one army had not plundered, the other came to complete.

Several other events also greatly added to the sufferings of the Reformed. Siegen received for its ruler a Catholic in 1623. This prince, called Count John the Younger, had been carefully educated by his father, Count John the Middle, who sent him to Geneva, where he lived for a time at the house of Beza, but later, while on a journey to Italy in 1613, the Jesuits converted him to Rome. His father, when he died, ordered that the son should not attempt to change the religion of his Reformed subjects. But in 1624 he began introducing Romanism by bringing in the Jesuits, to whom he gave the cloister church of Siegen. On May 11, 1626, he took all the churches from the Reformed and ordered all their ministers to leave the land. The only Reformed minister permitted to remain was his mother's private chaplain, who was permitted to hold services only in her room. He established a Jesuit college at Siegen, and compelled two of the Reformed congregations to allow the Catholic worship in their churches. In many other ways he embittered the lives of his Reformed subjects. He finally fined them a gold gulden for not attending mass. And when they asked that at least they might be permitted to have the Heidelberg Catechism, if they could not have their church services, he refused them. They began, for the sake

of their Reformed faith, to emigrate to Hesse-Cassel. This he also forbade. He did not allow them honorable burial. Thus, in 1639, a woman named Heipels, was left unburied for three days, and then only allowed to be buried in her own garden, not in the cemetery. In 1630 Hans Altgeld, his wife and daughter had to be buried in a hole before their door in their garden. The Count would not allow them to be buried in the cemetery, because they were Reformed. A prominent citizen, a member of the Reformed congregation, died at Siegen. With the greatest difficulty his family gained permission to bury him in his own yard, but the Romish authorities would allow no funeral procession. So his son-in-law and brother-in-law had to bury him quietly. Some of the persecutions of the Jesuits, in order to make converts, were silly. Thus the women of Siegen were accustomed to bleach their linen before the gate of the city. The Jesuits would come and take away the linen of those who were not Catholics. They would also prevent the cattle of those who were not Romanists from being driven out for three days, thus greatly inconveniencing the owners.

Another terrible blow the Reformed of Nassau received was the conversion of Count John Lewis of Hadamer to Romanism. The Jesuits, ever on a watch to make converts, trumped up a charge at Vienna against the Nassau Counts, namely that they had placed ten soldiers in Frederick's army. The Counts were summoned

to Vienna to answer for this treason to the Emperor. They held a meeting in 1629, and decided to send the Count of Hadamer, who was a brilliant orator and a fine scholar, to plead their cause. On his way to Vienna, at Mayence, he fell in with a Jesuit named Ziegler, the confessor of the Archbishop of Mayence, who had formerly been Reformed. The Count considered himself quite skillful in debate. The wily Jesuit inveigled him into a debate, and discovered that the Count was not fully sure of his position. He sent word ahead to Vienna, and when the Count arrived there, all unknown to himself the Jesuits laid a plot to draw him into the Romish Church. He was received with great honor by the court, and invited to the laying of the corner-stone of the cloister on the Kahlenburg, just north of Vienna. There the Emperor had him dine with him, and placed opposite to him Lenormain, his confessor. Of course the Count and the confessor were soon in a heated debate, lasting seven hours, in which the Count proved a rather poor match for the shrewd Jesuit. He made damaging admissions which were used against him. Finally, hounded on every side, he was persuaded, instead of going to his lodgings, to go to one of the Jesuit novitiate houses. He might have known that this half step toward Rome would compromise him. Here they arranged that a Jesuit of the county of Nassau should meet him. This man pointed out to

him the errors of the Protestant Bible.* The Count, after remaining in this house for seven days, confessed that he saw many errors in Protestantism. The next day he permitted masses to be read for him, and at the end of the second mass he cried out to the priest: "My father, I am a Catholic, and so will I live, and so will I die." After his conversion the charges against the Nassau Counts were withdrawn. In return for his conversion the Emperor ordered the Austrian armies to withdraw from his territory, and he was honored with the appointment of chamberlain to the Emperor.

The news of his conversion to Romanism caused a tremendous sensation in Siegen. Niesener, the Reformed pastor, was commissioned to break the news to the Count's Reformed wife, whose motto had been "firm in the faith." As he made know to her her husband's apostasy, she fainted away. When she had revived, he encouraged her to remain true to the Reformed faith. She nobly replied: "I would rather be divorced from my husband and go out of his land a beggar, than leave my faith. The Count returned, December, 1629, bringing Jesuits with him, who two months later began holding Romish services. The

* The Reformed Bible, translated by Piscator, was in common use in Nassau, instead of Luther's translation. The Lutherans had been jealous of it, for fear it might supplant Luther's. Its enemies called it the "Strafe mich Gott" Bible, because in Mark 8: 12 "There shall no sign be given to this congregation. Amen," Piscator had exaggerated the Amen into the strong German phrase, "Strafe mich Gott." Possibly this was one of the glosses, to which the Jesuit called the attention of the Count.

Count then ordered the Reformed ministers to either leave or become Romanists. By the end of 1630 not a Reformed minister was left in all the land except his wife's private chaplain, and Niesener who was put under house arrest. The Romish priests took all the Reformed churches and finally brought charges against Niesener, for which he was arrested and taken to Cologne, where he was imprisoned in a miserable prison for a year, before he was found innocent. Countess Ursula remained true to her faith. She was one of the "saints of the Reformed Church." Three hours every day she spent in prayer. She was very kind and liberal to the poor. When the plague broke out, she went like an angel of mercy ministering from door to door. The Jesuits tried in every way to convert her, but she was ready to silence them with an answer from the Heidelberg Catechism. The purity of her faith and life compelled even the Catholics to admire her. The leading Jesuit confessed that such a heretic as she outweighed many a dozen of Catholics in God's sight. At her death in 1638 she greatly longed for the ministrations of a Reformed minister, as the Jesuits tried to convert her on her deathbed. But she remained steadfast and firm. One of the Jesuits afterward wrote: "We mourn that this precious silver vessel remained to the last tainted with heresy." After her death the Romanists had entire control of Hadamer. And so the Reformed lost control of two of the Nassau lands, Siegen and Hadamer.

The Catholics also gained control of another of the counties of the Wetterau. For Count John Albert of Solms, a man of great piety and devotion to the Reformed Church, had been an officer in the army of King Frederick of Bohemia. For this he was put under the ban by the Emperor and deposed. The Spaniards took possession of his land, fearfully ravaging it and driving out the Reformed ministers. Count John Albert greatly mourned the sufferings of his land ; so much so that a friend said to him : " Brother, you are a real martyr, although you have not shed any blood." Nearly all the Reformed ministers were driven out of Solms, and their places taken by Romish priests. These events, together with the oppressions of the imperial forces greatly discouraged the Reformed. The Edict of Restitution added to their sufferings, as it took away most of the endowments which supported the Reformed university of Herborn. This town was repeatedly plundered. It was destroyed in 1626 and afterwards in 1634 by fire. As a result the university was well nigh destroyed, only four professors remaining in it. Owing to the oppressions of the enemy, the years 1628 and 1629 were years of famine. Many made bread of acorns, hemp seed and roots. Plague followed, during which whole families died and whole villages were depopulated. The severity of these sufferings seemed almost to have turned the heads of the poor people, for a strange infatuation for witchcraft broke out among them. Between the

years 1629 and 1632 thirty-five witches were executed at Dillenberg, ninety at Herborn, and thirty at Drierdorf. A girl at Amsdorf with many tears told her father on May 1, 1831, that she was a witch. He felt it his duty to tell it to the authorities of Herborn, and for it she was executed. Sometimes the witches would be put to such severe tortures that on the following day they would be found dead in prison. Many superstitious people believed that it was not the torture that killed them, but Satan. Thus a widow was found dead at Herborn, after having been tortured the previous day. The superstitious ones then remembered that when she was tortured, a bat as large as a cat came into the place of torture. This they declared was the devil. The superstitious people believed that if witch powder were spilled on the trees, there would be no fruit; if on the fields, no grain; if on the wind, bad weather. Almost every town had its locality where witches were said to dance. And yet, while we may be tempted to smile at these things, we should rather pity the poor people. For as one writer says: "The terrible sufferings of the times gave them universal melancholy." To the credit of the Reformed ministers be it said that they tried to stem the tide of popular opinion in favor of witchcraft by warning the people against it. Thus wars, oppression, persecution, famine, plague and witchcraft made the early years of the war most deplorable to Nassau.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION II.

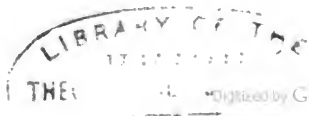
FROM THE COMING OF THE SWEDES TO THE END OF THE WAR.

A better day dawned on these counties of the Wetterau as Gustavus, the Gideon of his age, appeared. The Swedes came to Nassau in November, 1631, led by a captain born in Herborn. Their strict discipline and high morals contrasted favorably with the terrible immorality and cruelty of the imperial army. Especially did the Laplanders in the Swedish army excite curiosity, because they were so small of stature, wore reindeer clothing, and carried bows and arrows. Everywhere the Swedes were welcomed as deliverers. The Nassau Princes had learned by sad experience that neutrality was more expensive than war, for the imperial army had forced thousands of gulden out of their lands by their quartering for so many years. So some of them gave up neutrality and openly joined the Swedish army. The leading Prince of the Nassau line was Count Lewis Henry of Dillenburg. He entered the Swedish army with his forces, taking with him his Reformed chaplain Vigelius. Better days now came to the Reformed of the counties of Siegen and Hadamar. The Jesuits either left or were compelled to leave, because of the hatred of the

people. The Reformed ministers began to come back from other lands to their shepherdless flocks.

During the years of the Swedish rule, there came back to Nassau a prominent prince, Count John Maurice of Nassau Siegen. He was the younger brother of Count John the Younger of Siegen, who had gone over to Romanism. Their father, to prevent his Catholic son from gaining all the territory, had divided it by his will among his three sons. But Count John Maurice had never gotten his portion, because his Catholic brother, with the aid of the Emperor, had kept it from him. Now, however, when the Swedes came, Count John Maurice came back to Siegen to take his rights, from which the Emperor had so unjustly deprived him. Many years before he had entered the Dutch military service, and had become private secretary to Prince Maurice of Orange. Then he rose in the Dutch army to a high position. He now came back to Siegen to restore his beloved Reformed faith to that land. He called Professor Irlen of Herborn to re-introduce the Reformed religion. He had a locksmith break down the altars which the Romanists had erected in the Reformed churches (for the Reformed churches have no altar, only a communion table). He also revived the Reformed gymnasium at Siegen. The death of Gustavus Adolphus, however, checked many of these favorable movements.* The defeat of the Swedes at

* Although Gustavus was a Lutheran, many memorial sermons were preached on his death in the Reformed churches, in which he was likened to King Josiah of the Bible.



Nordlingen having broken their power, Count John Maurice had to leave, and his Romish brother came back to re-introduce Romanism into his land.

Count John Maurice was sent by the Dutch West India Company to Brazil in 1636, for which he afterwards received the name of "the Brazilian." He took with him his Reformed chaplain Plante, and at once set to work to introduce the Reformed faith into the new world. Calvin's Reformed colony to Rio Janeiro in 1557 had turned out a failure. Count John Maurice now tried to introduce the Reformed faith again. He aimed to snatch South America from the power of the Jesuits and its natives from heathenism. As early as 1623 Prof. Walaus had started a Foreign Mission School at Leyden, so that the Dutch Church was early showing a missionary zeal which led to large missionary operations in both the East and the West Indies. Count John Maurice therefore soon sent back to Holland for more ministers to evangelize among the natives, and in 1637 eight Reformed ministers were sent out. These preached in Dutch, French, Portuguese and English. Soller and Polhemius preached in Olinda, Peolius in Tamarica, Ratherlarius (an Englishman) at Parahiba. In the province of St. Augustine, Stetinus proclaimed the gospel, as did Eduardi at Serinhæn. The gospel was also preached in the province of Maragnana. These ministers endeavored to preach in the villages near their parishes to the natives. For they found that the

Jesuits who had been there under the Portuguese, had tried missionary work, but as usual in a superficial way. They did not translate the Bible, but were satisfied if the natives had learned the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. The Dutch ministers labored, however, to bring them to an experimental knowledge of spiritual things. In doing this, the Count's court preacher, Plante, set the example, but others were very zealous in doing missionary work, as Casseber at Recissa. Dorisflarius became quite eloquent in preaching in the native language, and translated the Heidelberg Catechism into the Tapuya dialect of Brazil. Thus, wherever the Dutch flag waved, there arose the standard of the cross, under which a Reformed congregation was formed. These zealous ministers also formed themselves, according to the Presbyterian government common in Holland, into Classes and Synods. They labored hard to plant a Reformed Church in South America. Long before William Penn, Count John Maurice began the policy of fair dealing with the Indians. He placed in every native village in his colony a Dutchman, whose duty it was to see that the natives were not cheated, but had their rights and were paid for their goods. The natives, therefore, very highly honored him. One of the Indian chiefs gave him a costly dish, which he afterwards presented to the Reformed church at Siegen, in Germany. But differences arose between the Count and the Dutch West India Company. In 1645 he returned to Holland,

bringing twenty-five tons of gold with him, and was received with high honors by the government. In 1654 the Portuguese defeated the Dutch in Brazil. The colony fell and the Reformed churches were lost. Brazil, instead of becoming Protestant and Reformed, became Portuguese, and under the Jesuits one of the most Romanist of lands. The Dutch afterwards exchanged their colony at New York with the English for what is now Dutch Guiana, in South America, (where there are now about 7,000 Reformed). Thus the Dutch colony in South America failed, as had the French colony in the century before, but none the less should the Reformed have the credit of trying to plant two colonies in South America to save the heathen, the first efforts made by Protestants to evangelize in this western continent. Count John Maurice, when he returned to Europe, found that his Catholic brother at Siegen had died. So he went to Siegen to gain the property left him by his father. He re-garrisoned Siegen and re-introduced the Reformed faith there by calling Professor Irlen from Herborn to introduce it.* He showed his appreciation of the Reformed by presenting the Reformed church at Siegen with costly presents, and at his own expense he remodeled the St. Nicolas church.

Count Lewis Henry of Nassau Dillenburg soon revealed in the Swedish army that he was one of Gustavus' bravest generals. Gustavus at once noticed his qualities as a sol-

* Siegen is now one of the most Reformed districts in Germany.

dier and took quite a fancy to him. For at the crossing of the Rhine at Oppenheim the Count was one of the first to bravely face the fire of the enemy. He had learned the art of war under Count Maurice of Orange in the Netherlands, and now he completed his education under Gustavus Adolphus. He was a giant in stature. He soon gained fame by his successful attack on the town of Braunfels (1635), which was the only victory gained by the Swedes immediately after their terrible defeat at Nordlingen, and which seemed to some extent to atone for that defeat. He marched his troops over the snow by night and came to the town of Braunfels at six o'clock in the morning. Before his troops were discovered, his soldiers were on the wall of the town. The garrison soon surrendered. When he returned from this victory, the magistrates and professors of the University of Herborn met him at the gate of Herborn, where Dr. Irlen made an address, in which he compared him to Joshua and Agamemnon. His success, however, not only gained him fame, but also called the attention of the Emperor to him as a dangerous enemy. The Austrians sent their armies against him, which besieged Dillenburg, his capital. But his garrison made such a successful sortie that the imperial forces agreed to give up the siege, provided he would pay them 10,000 ricksthalers bounty. When the Peace of Prague was published, strange to say, he signed it and exchanged the blue sash of the Swedes for the red of the Emperor. He may have gone over to the

Emperor because he suspected that the Romish Count of Siegen was plotting with the Emperor to gain his territory. The Emperor gladly received so brave a general into his army. But Lewis' people were not satisfied with the change, and many looked upon his action as nothing less than treason to the Protestant cause. Some of his officers refused to serve any longer under him, and many of his soldiers deserted. His cavalry for a quarter of a year absolutely refused to take the oath to the Emperor. The Emperor employed him to capture small forts, an art in which he was signally successful, as Montabour, Amoneburg and others. His most successful capture, however, was Hanau. This famous city consisted of two parts, an old and a new city, the latter founded by the Reformed refugees in 1597. Countess Catharine Belgica, a descendant of William of Orange, ruled the land in the early part of the Thirty Years' War with rare wisdom, until her son, Count Philip Maurice, ascended the throne in 1627. When Gustavus Adolphus came, the Count of Hanau joined the Swedes, who placed a garrison at Hanau under the command of the Scotch general Ramsay. After the defeat of the Swedes at Nordlingen, this fort remained the only Swedish fort in that part of Germany. It was defended by the brave Ramsay with great ability. When the Peace of Prague was published, the Count of Hanau accepted it and joined the Emperor. He returned to Hanau from Metz, whither he had fled. But when the

Count began issuing orders to the inhabitants of Hanau forbidding the people to pray for the success of the Swedes against the Emperor, Ramsay put him under arrest for spreading treason against the Swedes. When Count Lewis Henry of Dillenburg heard that his cousin, Count Philip Maurice, was under arrest in his own castle in Hanau, he determined to rescue him. He suddenly appeared before Hanau, February 21, 1638, with 700 men. He seized the fortifications at the mill by the red house, and captured the castle and rescued the imprisoned Count of Hanau. Ramsay meanwhile shut himself up in the new city, and prepared to stand a siege. But he was severely wounded at his residence at the White Lion Hotel. He therefore surrendered, February 23, 1638. As soon as his wound permitted, Ramsay was taken a prisoner to Dillenberg, where he arrived March 24, 1638. But his proud spirit revolted against the idea of being a prisoner. He hoped that he might be exchanged for the Austrian cavalry general, John of Werth. Some dispute, however, with the Austrian government about 50,000 ricksthalers prevented this. Finding that he was not to be exchanged, he became morbid under his imprisonment and somewhat unruly. Still he was always glad for the visits of the Reformed ministers, for he himself belonged to the Scotch Reformed or Presbyterian faith. Corvinus, the rector of the Reformed University of Herborn, frequently visited him, and conversed with him in Swedish and English. Ramsay finally died, a disap-

pointed man, after nearly a year's imprisonment. As no effort was made to have his body returned to his native land of Scotland, he was buried in the Reformed church at Dillenburg, where his tomb is shown to this day.

During the latter part of the war, Nassau and the other Wetterau districts, like the Palatinate, suffered severely. Army after army passed over these lands. One writer says: "On the one side were Swedes, French, Lapps, Scotch-Irish, and on the other Spaniards and Bavarians, and no one knew which were friends or foes." "When they had marched through," said a minister, "it looked as if Lucifer or Beelzebub had passed by." When the war was over, houses could be found which had been so long deserted that a cherry tree had grown up from the hearth through the chimney and spread its boughs over the roof. Famine and pestilence raged. Many of the villages were reduced to one family. No wonder then that the Peace of Westphalia was welcomed with great joy. By it the Reformed in the counties of Siegen and Hadamer were again allowed their Reformed worship, although the Count of Hadamer tried hard to prevent it as much as possible.*

* In 1742 the Nassau lands passed into the hands of the House of Orange, and the Reformed had greater liberty and power after that.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BRAVERY OF HESSE-CASSEL.

Hesse-Cassel deserves special mention in the Reformed history of this war. She should receive double credit, both for her bravery and for her persistence for the Reformed faith during the war. She was the only land that *continuously* opposed the unjust oppressions of the Emperor during *the whole of the war*. For even the Peace of Prague, which tempted so many German princes to make peace with the Emperor, failed to win Hesse-Cassel to make peace until her wrongs were righted.

SECTION I.

THE ABDICATION OF LANDGRAVE MAURICE.

This distinguished Reformed prince was a scholar, as well as a noble. He was as learned in all the sciences and philosophies of his day, as he was in statesmanship. A far better leader would he have been for the Protestant Union than the young, inexperienced Frederick V. of the Palatinate. He was one of the most broad-minded, far-seeing of the Reformed statesmen of Germany. He was one of the first to suggest a general Protestant Diet, which should destroy Austria and the Papacy. But Frederick

was not willing for that, and began the movements which led to his election to the throne of Bohemia. Landgrave Maurice disapproved of Frederick's acceptance of that throne, but he still remained true to the Protestant Union. Spinola, the Spanish general, by a quick move toward Mayence, cut Maurice off from the other armies of the Protestant Union in Southern Germany. His own nobles, as well as the approach of the Spanish army, compelled him to retire from the Union as it fell to pieces. When he heard how unjustly Frederick had been deposed by the Emperor, he became very angry. Still he could do nothing, for Spinola's army was on his borders. Tilly's Austrian army came in 1623, fearfully ravaging Hersfeld and Eschwege. Tilly took the old abbey of Hersfeld from the Reformed, and gave it to the Jesuits. But like a thunder clap out of a clear sky there came the Emperor's order to him in 1623 to give up Upper Hesse (which he had occupied for eighteen years) to the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. The latter was a Lutheran, and had brought charges against Maurice that he had violated the will of the previous Elector of Upper Hesse. Landgrave George of Upper Hesse had ordered in his will, that no religion should be introduced into Upper Hesse except the Lutheran. The Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt charged Maurice with breaking that clause in the will, when he introduced the Reformed faith into Upper Hesse. And yet Maurice had introduced the Reformed faith into Upper

Hesse eighteen years before, but nothing had been said of it till the Thirty Years' War exposed Maurice's weakness. Then his rival and his Emperor took up the matter against him.* The Emperor seems to have gladly agreed, for he saw in this another opportunity to get rid of a Reformed prince. His decision was most unjust, for he had not even given Maurice a hearing. And to completely cripple Maurice, the Emperor not only decided against him that he had forfeited the Upper Hesse, but to make it as severe as possible, he ordered Maurice to pay seventeen million gulden, which was supposed to represent the revenues Maurice had secured during the eighteen years he had had control of the land. The Emperor, to make Maurice's position still more hopeless, commanded him to raise this large sum of money and leave Marburg within the very short time of six weeks. All this makes it very evident that the Emperor intended to crush him. The Emperor appointed the Electors of Cologne and Saxony to carry out this decree; and if they found it necessary, they could call to their help the troops of the Catholic League. In vain did Maurice and the states of the German empire protest and appeal against this decision. Almost before Maurice was notified, Tilly's army was in the southern part of his

* The truth of the matter was, that Landgrave Lewis of Hesse-Darmstadt was considered by the Protestants as "the Judas of the war," as he was always playing into the hands of the Emperor, especially if there would be any personal gain by it for himself. He, therefore, aimed to get Upper Hesse in this way.

land, while the Elector of Cologne with the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt entered Upper Hesse. They took not only Upper Hesse, but also Smalcald, Katzeleben and other parts of Hesse, about which the Emperor's decree said nothing. Wherever they went, the Reformed ministers had to flee, and Lutherans were introduced. Landgrave Lewis of Hesse-Darmstadt took Marburg and summoned its Reformed ministers before him. John Crocius, the rector of the university, claimed that Landgrave Maurice had not done anything contrary to the will of the deceased Landgrave, or contrary to the Augsburg Confession, when he introduced the Reformed religion. But his address had no effect. They took from him by force the sceptre, keys and insignia of the university. The Reformed ministers were ordered to leave Marburg within two days, or their families would be put out of their houses into the streets. The Lutheran religion was re-introduced. Thus Marburg was the second Reformed university to fall, as Heidelberg had done before it. All Lutherdom rejoiced at the fall of another Reformed university. Landgrave Maurice did the best he could for the Reformed. He had started a Knights' School at Cassel some years before, by which he hoped to refine the rough manners of the German nobility, among many of whom bull-baiting and other vices were prevalent. He founded this school to divert their minds to higher things, as the arts and sciences and polite manners. This school at

Cassel Maurice now turned into a university to take the place of Marburg. However he did not live to carry this out, but his son fulfilled his wishes, and opened it as a university in 1633, with Crocius as rector. It remained at Cassel till the close of the war.

After the loss of Upper Hesse, it looked as if Maurice would lose Lower Hesse too. For Landgrave Lewis had taken possession of parts of it, as Smalcald and Katzelnbogan, as pledges for the payment of the seventeen millions gulden. The Knights of Hesse, one of the influential orders in the Hessian diets, became disaffected to Maurice. The Lutherans in the provinces of Smalcald joined hands with the Lutherans of Upper Hesse against him. To make his position still more difficult, family difficulties arose between the children of his first and of his second marriage. Maurice made a desperate attempt to stop this tide of disintegration by joining the Conference of the Saxon states, led by the King of Denmark. But the defeat of the King of Denmark made him lose all hope. His affairs were coming to a crisis. The Emperor, seeing his increasing weakness, began to press him the more. He demanded that Maurice allow Austrian garrisons in his forts as Cassel, and finally demanded that Maurice should abdicate. Maurice saw no way of averting the impending storm, but to abdicate. This he did publicly, March 17, 1627, in the golden saloon of his castle at Cassel. It was an act of patriotism and self-

denial to save his country. He retired to Eschwege. But, though he retired, he still watched the course of affairs with great interest. He, however, spent most of his time in the study of alchemy, poetry, as of Dante and Petrarch, and also of the political works of Macchiaveli. He was true to his name, the Learned. He died May 16, 1632, having lived long enough to see the coming of the Swedes, at which he greatly rejoiced.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION II.

LANDGRAVE WILLIAM V.

Rarely did a Prince enter upon the control of his land under more adverse circumstances than Landgrave William V. A large part of his territory was gone. The prestige and influence of his line of princes was lost by the forced abdication of his father. He was threatened by financial bankruptcy and surrounded by enemies ready to pounce upon him. Would he be able to lead Hesse-Cassel out of the labyrinth of woes in which she was lost? He decided that the best way to begin to unravel the tangled knot of political affairs, was to come to some understanding with the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, even if he had to make some concessions to him. He therefore made a treaty with him, giving him Upper Hesse forever, and giving Smalcald and Katzeubogan as pledges for the payment of the seventeen million gulden. Landgrave Maurice protested against this agreement, but the Emperor ratified it, January 22, 1628. As a result, the Reformed ministers were driven out of the districts of Smalcald and Katzeubogan, and their places were taken by Lutheran ministers. Landgrave William then went to Prague to personally intercede with the Emperor, that he would order his troops

to cease quartering on his land, for they had already cost him seventy tons of gold. By a curious coincidence he happened to arrive at Prague just at the time when the Emperor dedicated a church in memory of his victory of White Mountain in 1620. As William crossed the bridge over the Moldau, he could see the bleached heads and hands of Frederick's nobles hanging there as a warning to all heretics and traitors. The Emperor tried to convert him to Rome, as he already had done Count of Hadamar. But William was of firmer stuff. He became disgusted with the superstitions, and drinking, and gambling among the nobles there, and after a six weeks' stay, he left Prague, without having gained anything from the Emperor for his land. When the Edict of Restitution was issued, the Catholics took from the Reformed the fine abbey of Hersfeld, which had been a great Reformed school. William was now very much in the same condition as his father had been. Much of his land was in the hands of his enemies. He had made concessions to his enemies and made an agreement with Darmstadt, hoping that then the hostile armies would be taken out of his land. But they remained there very much as before. Perplexed in every way, he began to think of abdicating too, as his father had done. His councillors, however, begged him not to do so. Just at this critical time Gustavus Adolphus appeared on the scene. William turned to the Swedes for aid. He was the first German Prince to join the Swedes. Sev-

eral reasons prompted him to do this. He was a cousin of Gustavus. Like his ancestor Landgrave Philip the Magnanimous, who defended the liberties of Germany a century before, he felt he must now defend them against the Emperor's unjust acts. But his greatest reason was the injustice of the Emperor to him. He saw no hope from the Emperor. He saw hope through the Swedes. The Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt warned him against joining the Swedes, saying that he would lose his territory if he did. William probably felt there was not much to lose just then, because all was then so nearly lost. He brought an army of 10,000 soldiers into Gustavus' army, which did good service for the Swedes. Indeed, Landgrave William became one of Gustavus' prominent generals, ranking next to the distinguished Duke Bernard of Weimar. He thus became the greatest of the Reformed nobles who fought against the Emperor. When Tilly saw that William had gone over to the Swedes, he started to march on Cassel. But just then the sudden victories of Gustavus called him away, and Cassel was not attacked. The Reformed people of Hesse greatly rejoiced at Gustavus' coming. After Gustavus' victory at Leipsic, Neuberger, the chaplain of the Landgrave, preached a sermon of thanksgiving. William now became strong enough to drive out of his land the imperial forces that had so long oppressed the Werra district. He was thus able to re-introduce the Reformed faith into Hersfeld. He also

marched against Upper Hesse and re-captured Marburg. Then he marched with Gustavus Adolphus in his victorious campaigns to southern Germany, and was with him when he fell at Lutzen. He won military honors at Furth. At this time he also gained a very valuable officer for his army, whose name was Peter Holzapple, or Melander. He was destined to become the great general of the Hessian armies, and the greatest Reformed general of the war.

The defeat of the Swedes at Nordlingen turned the tide of war against William again. The imperial forces again advanced into his territory. Wherever they came, the Reformed ministers had to flee. The next year came the fatal peace of Prague, which, however, brought no peace for him, for the cruel Croats fearfully ravaged a part of his land. He was repeatedly urged by his friends to accept this peace of Prague, as almost all the German nobles had done. Had he done so, it is not probable that religious liberty would have been accepted by Germany, or that the Reformed Church would ever have been officially recognized in Germany. For had he accepted the peace, that would probably have closed the war without settling these questions which were afterwards settled by the peace of Westphalia. These great principles, therefore, depended on what he would do. For there were only two German princes who kept up the war after 1635. They were William and Duke Bernard of Weimar. But

William declared he would not accept the peace with the Emperor until two things were done—(1) The territory of Upper Hesse, Smalcald and Katzeubogan, which had been unjustly taken away, must be returned ; and (2) the Reformed faith must be guaranteed in his dominions. The peace of Prague proposed to close the war without bringing about these two things. So William kept up the war for the sake of Protestantism, and the Reformed faith and religious liberty. He formed a league with the Swedes and the French, the latter giving him 12,000 crowns and elevating him to the rank of a field marshal in the army. He at once signalized himself by his relief of Hanau, one of the few victories gained by the Swedes in the years immediately after their defeat at Nordlingen. The town of Hanau had been a Reformed stronghold. It had joined the Swedes, but its prince had accepted the Peace of Prague. Still the Count of Hanau could not deliver it to the Emperor, for it was held by a Swedish garrison under General Ramsey. But the position was a dangerous one, for it was the only Swedish garrison in that part of Germany. The Emperor sent an army to besiege it, and the famous "blockade of Hanau" was begun. General Lamboi shut the town up November, 1635. He placed gallows in front of the fort to frighten the inhabitants with the danger of such a death. On December 14 the Reformed had a day of prayer, to ask the Lord to deliver them in their time of need. They

also had another day of prayer, January 31, 1636. On February 7, the members of the Reformed church took the communion. For they were in great need. Famine was threatening the city. The enemy spread wild alarms by shooting fire balls into the city, so as to set the buildings on fire. They shot 139 of them into the town. They also shot what was called "beggar's sacks," which contained silk, mixed with powder, iron and balls. These set fire to whatever they struck. A ball struck the French Reformed church, rebounded at a pillar and then went through four seats (the marks of it are still shown). The plague now broke out in the city. But Lamboi's troops were also suffering from hunger. They had so badly devastated the country around the city that nothing was left even for them to eat. In May, 1636, Lamboi more closely invested the city than before, but Ramsey defended it with great ability and bravery. It was at this critical moment that Landgrave William came to its aid. He suddenly appeared June 13, 1636, with 6,000 men and attacked the Austrians. The Austrians, taken by surprise, were hemmed in between William's army and the defenders of the town. William's army advanced and soon forced them away on one side and formed a union with the garrison through the Nuremberg gate. This lifted the blockade of seven months. The Swedish General Leslie made an entrance through that gate into the city. Great was the joy of the Reformed inhabitants. They looked

upon his coming as an answer to their prayers. As soon as the battle was over, William went to the Reformed church in the old city of Hanau to return thanks to the Lord for the victory, and he scattered 1,000 ricksthalers to the poor of the three congregations. He then drove the enemy away from the right bank of the Main river. He left on June 16, leaving General Ramsey with 2,000 men as a garrison.*

The capture of Hanau made a deep impression on Germany. The Protestants rejoiced and built high hopes on it that it had turned the tide of war, which had been going against the Swedes ever since the battle of Nordlingen. It, however, alarmed the imperial forces, and they began massing against Hesse-Cassel to crush William. They came again into Hesse-Cassel. The imperial general Gotz fearfully ravaged the land. One hundred ministers were either maltreated or had to pay a ransom for their release. At Hersfeld, Piscator, the rector of the Reformed gymnasium, had to save his life from the Croats by flight, and the gymnasium was closed for eighteen years. At Treysa the Reformed minister died, wounded with seven wounds. In February, Gallas, the imperial general,

* (See Book I., Chapter III., Section II.) For this relief of Hanau the Reformed observed June 22, 1636, as a day of prayer, and continued it yearly afterwards. By 1645 they kept June 13, as that day of prayer and thanksgiving. This day was observed by them for more than a century. The Hanau people never forgot the kindness of the Hessians in coming to their aid. An ample return was made to the Hessians, when in 1736 the province of Hanau fell to Hesse-Cassel.

ravaged the Werra and Fulda districts, burned two hundred villages, and put one-third of the population to the sword. William's position was in the meanwhile becoming more and more desperate. The Emperor took advantage of his extremity to do to him as he had done to Frederick of the Palatinate. He, by an order, November 21, 1636, deposed William and put him under the ban of the empire. He appointed William's rival, the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, the administrator of Hesse-Cassel. The latter had now gotten what he had been seeking a long time, namely, the privilege of taking possession of William's land. Thus the Emperor tried to destroy another Reformed land, and deposed the second Reformed Prince of the empire. The Hessians, however, loved their ruler. And the northern part, especially the forts, were still in possession of William's forces. It became evident, however, that William must seek some other land for an asylum, until the Swedes and French could give him the aid required to redeem his losses. Too much was depending on his solitary life to allow him to be in any danger of being captured by the Emperor. So they decided that he must seek an asylum in East Friesland. Here, if driven out of Germany, he could go either to Holland or to Sweden. The Count of Friesland had been neutral during the war, and objected to William's coming, but when William appeared with his army of 11,000, and when a Dutch man-of-war appeared at the mouth of the Ems

river, he submitted. But although William persisted in not surrendering to the Emperor, he was compelled to surrender to a greater than the Emperor. For death, the king of terrors, laid hold of him at Leer in East Friesland, September 17, 1637. Rumor has it that he was secretly poisoned by the enemy, which is quite likely, as Duke Bernard of Weimar was poisoned some years afterward. For when the imperialists found they could not conquer their enemies fairly, they sometimes resorted to poison to get rid of them. (Even Gustavus himself is said to have been killed by an assassin in his own army.) William's death was very unfortunate. For with the returning tide of victory which soon afterwards came to the Hessians, it is altogether probable that with his military skill he would have gone southward through Germany in a magnificent campaign of victory, like a second Gustavus Adolphus. But he gained a higher victory, for his faith shone out before dying. He comforted himself with the 125th Psalm, "The rod of the wicked shall not rest on the lot of the righteous." They might try to take away his country, but they could not take away his faith, and he felt that as sure as there was a just God in heaven, his land would be freed from the unjust rod of Austria.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION III.

THE VICTORY OF LANDGRAVINE AMALIE ELIZABETH.

When William died, it seemed as if Hesse-Cassel would be lost, and with her the rights of the Protestants and of the Reformed Church, of which she was almost the last bulwark. After Landgrave William's death only one German prince remained in rebellion against the Emperor, Duke Bernard of Weimar. It looked as if the Protestant cause were almost lost. *But man's extremity is woman's opportunity.* There rose up a Reformed Joan of Arc, Landgravine Amalie Elizabeth, William's wife, to lead the German Protestants and the Reformed back to victory. She did not do it, as did the French Joan of Arc, by appearing on the battlefield, but by the shrewdness of her diplomacy. She has been compared to the ancient prophetess of Israel, and has been called the Reformed Deborah. She was the daughter of Countess Catharine Belgica of Hanau, and so was the great-granddaughter of William the Silent. From him she inherited "his wisdom and his eagle eye." She was a great descendant from great ancestors. But great were the odds against her. She ascended the throne in the darkest days of that most terrible war. If the situation was



LANDGRAVINE AMALIE OF HESSE CASSEL.

critical when her husband ascended the throne, it was more so when she ascended it. A large part of her land was in the hands of her enemy. The debt on the land was 590,000 thalers, and she and her family were in exile in East Friesland. To make her condition still more desperate, the Emperor declared that her husband's will, which made his son his successor, was void, and gave the land to the administratorship of her enemy, the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt. This usurpation thoroughly aroused her. With the courage of a lioness she proceeded to battle for her son's rights. As regent for her son, she began warlike operations. Her husband had fortunately left her 15,000 excellently drilled soldiers. She appointed Melander as her commander. He had years before won laurels in the Swiss and Venetian service, had been a pupil in war of Prince Maurice of Orange, and completed his military education under Gustavus Adolphus. He it was who brought discipline into the Hessian army, which enabled it to gain victories, as at Oldendorf (1633). The Emperor saw the value of Melander as a general, and had tried to bribe him over to his service. He offered him a county in Julich, and an annual pension of 10,000 thalers, and the position of general. But Melander was incorruptible and refused, saying he was a German and a Westerwalder,* and that

* Westerwald was a district in Nassau, and he meant that he was so intensely German, as to be a double German. Prince Maurice of Orange once said that a Westerwalder outweighed two other Germans.

he would rather be a general of the Hessian army, than one among the twenty-eight generals of the Emperor's army. The Emperor also tried hard to get Amalie to come to terms with him. He was so anxious that he asked the Elector of Mayence to get her to name her conditions. She replied that she would not make peace, till Hesse-Cassel was given back her territory, and the Reformed, who had been ignored by the Peace of Prague, were given their rights. Meanwhile the French labored hard to prevent her from coming to terms with the Emperor. Negotiations were thus kept up for two years. During that time she kept the Emperor in hopes, and at the same time wrung from the French subsidies of 150,000 gulden. Finally she refused the Emperor, partly because he would not agree to toleration of her Reformed religion. So in 1640 she began to move her forces forward again into Westphalia, supported on one side by the Swedes and on the other by the French. She contrived to have her little land placed on an equal footing with these great powers. But, although she thus pressed the war, a strong peace party appeared in Hesse-Cassel, led by Melander. He had lost faith in the Swedes and French, and believed that these foreigners were keeping up this war at the expense of Germany, in order to gain their own purposes. He held that Germany must save herself, and that Hesse must break loose from these foreigners. The result was, that he was compelled to retire

from her service, after having led the Hessian army to glorious victories at Neustadt, Paderborn and Hameln. He retired from military service to Esterau, and made Esthen his capital. In 1641, after he had become reconciled to the Emperor, the Emperor elevated him to the rank of a noble, and in 1642 made him field marshal. The Emperor promoted him to be commander of his forces in Westphalia in 1645. Now one of the most remarkable facts about the close of this war was the loss of first-class generals by the Emperor. One by one (Tilly, Wallenstein and others) they had either died or left his service. Gallas was a drunkard, and was nicknamed "the army corruptor." On the other hand, the Swedes and French were bringing out new and first-class generals, as Turenne and Conde among the French, and Wrangel and Baner among the Swedes. As the Emperor's best generals were all gone, he was compelled, as a last resort, to appoint Melander his general. What a grim commentary of providence, that after the Emperor had been fighting the Calvinists for a quarter of a century, he should have to call a Calvinist to lead his forces. How significant are the reverses, yes the revenges of history, that the Emperor had to call one of the sect, which he had tried so hard to destroy, to come and save him at the end of the war. We do not defend Melander for leading a Romish army against the Protestant cause. But no one can question the honesty of the man. He really

believed that Germany was a prey to foreigners, as the Swedes and the French, and he wanted to see the land delivered from them. Nor is there any question about his intense devotion to the Reformed faith. He used every effort to re-introduce it in his little county, from which the Count of Hadamer had cast it out, and also at Vienna with the court. He soon began operations against the Hessians and the Swedes. He marched against Marburg, when, on December 29, 1647, a shot wounded him so severely that it was thought he would bleed to death. When after a long illness he was again able to take command of the army, he found that the fortunes of the war were against him. He tried to introduce discipline into the army, as Gustavus had done, but the wild Austrian hordes would not obey, and the soldiers grumbled at it. Besides, the Romish officers did not forget that he was a Protestant. They had complained against his appointment at first, and were lukewarm to him afterward. His colleague Gronsfeld would not agree with him. All these things made his career more hopeless now. The truth was that the fortunes of the war had passed from the battle-field to diplomacy. He was, therefore, compelled to retreat before the Swedish, French and Hessian armies. In this retreat his rear guard was attacked near Augsburg. He hurried back to stop its flight, when he was fatally wounded by two balls in the breast. But he still had the spirit of the hero, for he said to the officer who

came to help him, "Do not think of me; I am dead. Hasten to get over the stream, if you would save the fortunes of the Emperor. Forward! forward!" He was carried to Augsburg, where he died. His Reformed chaplain preached a funeral sermon based on 2 Chronicles 35 : 23, comparing him with Joseph. His embalmed body was brought with military honors under a guard of 380 cavalry to Ratisbon, where it was to have been buried. But when the Lutherans found out that he was Reformed, they would not let him be buried in their church. It was finally taken to his little land of Esterau, where it was buried in the family vault. There is a statue of him over the grave, and another in a niche in the castle at Schaumburg. One of the greatest men of the war, he rose from an humble birth to highest rank. He was so deeply attached to the Reformed faith that he wanted his son to become a Reformed minister and take charge of the Reformed church at Langenscheid. After his death his widow had the Reformed faith introduced into his land.

While the brave Melander was thus suffering defeat after defeat, Landgravine Amalie was gaining victories. Supported by the French and the Swedes, she became a controlling power at the end of the war. Although the ruler of only a small German state, she was the equal of France and Sweden in the peace negotiations. One of the Emperor's friends had said : "It was a shame that so small a duchy should dictate terms to the Emperor." The Bava-

rian general Gronsfeld said : " Amalie has gained immortal fame, for she has gained toleration for her Reformed religion which had been cast off by the Empire. She holds the balance of power in her hands." Victorious in war, by her great diplomatic skill she also gained victories in the peace negotiations. She compelled Hesse Darmstadt to give back to her Upper Hesse, Smalcald and Katzelnbogen. She also received in addition half of the county of Schaumburg, containing in it the Lutheran University of Rinteln. The Emperor granted her the exercise of her Reformed religion. The Romanists were compelled to give back the Abbey of Hersfeld to the Reformed, and it afterwards became a great Reformed gymnasium. At the close of the war she laid down the regency of her land, and her son, William VI., became Landgrave. She was greatly idolized by her people. On a visit to Heidelberg in 1651 she was greeted by the people as the " Reformed Deborah." She said she would rather lose everything than give up her Reformed religion. The Danish ambassador bore testimony to her great love for the Reformed, for he called her an arch Calvinist. She died August 8, 1651. She greatly loved her Reformed Church, which was the constant recipient of her bounty. On her coins is the motto :

"Against might and craft
God is my rock."

CHAPTER V.

THE VACILLATIONS OF BRANDENBURG.

The three great powers of Germany that adopted the Reformed faith were the Palatinate, Hesse-Cassel and Brandenburg, the rest being small counties like Nassau or free cities like Bremen. After the fall of the Elector of the Palatinate, the Elector of Brandenburg naturally became the greatest Reformed prince of Germany. He should have stood forth as their great protector. But unfortunately, to make their condition still more pitiable, this prince, George William, was a mild, timid man. He was not the energetic, far-seeing man that the times demanded. He had not the decision of character of his father who left the Lutheran faith to become Reformed, or of his son who became the great protector of the Reformed. Still, we must not judge him too harshly, for there were certain circumstances that tended to make such a timid man more timid.

The first was a *religious* one. While he was Reformed, his subjects were intensely Lutheran. Among the thousands of Lutherans in his province, there were only three small Reformed congregations in Brandenburg and

Prussia.* And not only were the Reformed congregations few and small, but the zeal and bigotry of the Lutherans was intense. So on account of the intense opposition of the Lutherans to the Reformed, the Elector had to be cautious. A second reason for his timidity was a *geographical* one. His country was composed of three provinces—Prussia in the east, Brandenburg west of it (Poland cut up Prussia into two divisions), and then in the western part of Germany the Rhine province. All of these were separated from each other by strips of territory. He was therefore weak politically. Besides, Prussia, his eastern province, was intensely Lutheran. When his father died, a plot was formed to prevent him from reigning over Prussia because he was not a Lutheran. They hoped to make his younger brother the ruler. Strange to say, his mother who was an intense Lutheran, helped on the plot. His father heard of this. And so his father, before he died, had him crowned, so that there might be no trouble about the succession after his death. His father also sent the younger son to Sedan, to a Reformed court to be educated, where he afterwards joined the Reformed Church.

* The first was at Berlin in the cathedral where the Elector and his family worshipped. A second was at Frankford on the Oder, where he had his Reformed university, whose Reformed professors became the nucleus for another Reformed congregation. They worshipped in the aula of the university until the next Elector gave them a building in 1656. A third congregation was at Königsberg, but there they were not permitted to have a church in the town, only to have private services in the castle. This congregation did not have a regular pastor till 1636, when Agricola came.

Thus the plot was defeated, but it showed that the Elector could not count on much sympathy or aid from Prussia, especially as Poland was always ready to incite its inhabitants against him, so as to gain control of it if possible.

A third reason was, that strange to say, he had a Catholic for his prime minister, Count Adam of Schwartzenburg. This man, unknown to him, was secretly in the pay of the Emperor, and was the evil spirit of the Elector, thwarting his plans and frightening him.

Fourthly, the circumstances of the war proved to be very ominous, and made him the more timid. The Emperor knew how to alarm such a timid prince. When King Frederick, his brother-in-law, was defeated at Prague, the Lutherans in his provinces were very jubilant over it. He was afraid of this fanaticism of his Lutheran subjects against Frederick. And he was also afraid of the anger of the Emperor, who might punish him for any favor shown to Frederick, although he was his brother-in-law. He gave Frederick a temporary shelter in the fortress of Custrin. But it was a lonely place, and Frederick soon had to remove his family to Berlin. From there they were removed to Brunswick and finally to Holland. When Frederick was put under the ban, Elector George William refused to protect him, and Frederick had to leave. His timidity was increased when soon after the Emperor caused the abdication of Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Cassel. He became afraid lest the Emperor would do something that

would compel him to retire from his throne. This fear was heightened when Wallenstein came with his wild hordes. The Emperor had deposed two of the neighboring princes, the Dukes of Mecklenburg (one of them Reformed) and had given their dominions to Wallenstein. This greatly alarmed George William. It was very evident that Wallenstein was after George William's electorate. For he quartered his troops in Brandenburg, where they performed all sorts of injustice and robbery. He hoped thus to incite the inhabitants to some sort of a revolt that might be construed into a rebellion against the Emperor, and then he could seize the Elector's territory and have himself made Elector, just as he had been unjustly made Duke of Mecklenburg. The oppressions on the Elector were increased by the Edict of Restitution, which took away from him the Bishopric of Brandenburg and three other places.

The year 1631 brought relief, as Gustavus Adolphus landed in Germany, but it brought no relief to the Reformed in Brandenburg, but rather greater suffering. For the Swedes captured Frankford on the Oder, where the Reformed University was located. This city had been overrun with marching armies. First Wallenstein came, then Tilly. But strange to say, even Gustavus put the climax to its sufferings. Gustavus usually was merciful, but here was most unmerciful. Tilly had left a garrison of 5,000 in the city. The Swedes appeared before it with

14,000 men, and on the 17th of April it fell. Most terrible was the result. The Swedes, who usually preserved strict discipline, did not do so here. For twelve long hours the town was given up to plunder. The Swedes said this plundering was allowed in return for the previous cruelty of the Austrians at New Brandenburg. There the imperial soldiers had surrounded a detachment of Swedes, and most cruelly cut them to pieces to a man. The Swedes had not forgotten this, and avenged themselves at Frankford. When an imperialist there cried for quarter, they replied, "New Brandenburg quarter," and slaughtered without mercy. In the plundering that took place many of the inhabitants were murdered and twenty houses burned. Of course the Reformed suffered in this plundering. Professor Franck came very nearly losing his life five times. The other Reformed professor, Pelargus, lost his furniture, but his library was saved.* This siege was followed by the plague, which had so ravaged the town before, in 1625, that the university had been moved to Furstenwald. Then the imperial troops came again and captured the town, after which it was again captured by the Elector and the Swedish general Baner. The terrors

* There is a rumor that he lost his library. And when he appeared before the King of Sweden, asking that it be returned, the King told him to replace his disgraceful, corrupt compendium in its original state, and then he would restore it. This meant that Pelargus should replace his Reformed faith with the Lutheran doctrines, which he used to teach. But he did not go back to the Lutheran faith, as Gustavus suggested, and the next Elector gave his library to the university.

of war seem to have hung over the place until 1644, when the new Elector, Frederick William, protected it through his activity.

The Elector of Brandenburg (although Gustavus was a near relative, and was his natural ally against the oppressions of the Emperor and Wallenstein), with his usual hesitation and timidity hesitated to join the Swedes, although his people were very anxious to do so. It was not till Gustavus' cannons were thundering at the gates of Berlin and threatening the city, that he made an alliance with him.

The conference between the Lutherans and the Reformed theologians at Leipsic we will give in another chapter. Neither have we time to enter into the dreadful devastations of Brandenburg, after the battle of Nordlingen. Brandenburg suffered very much like the other lands. Berlin only escaped by giving large bounties to the threatening armies. Already in 1637 there were in Berlin 168 empty houses, and many of those inhabited had only widows and orphans. The Elector accepted the Peace of Prague, but as most of his subjects were Lutherans, its omission of the Reformed did not affect his land very much, for he was strong enough to protect the few Reformed there.

George William died in 1640. And yet in spite of his vacillations, there are two things for which he must receive credit. The first was his adherence to religious liberty.

For in his alliance with the Swedes he insisted that religious liberty should prevail throughout Germany. "This," says Gindely, the great historian of the war, "gave George William a solitary place among the Princes of Europe." But in this he was only following his father, who in 1614 declared religious liberty for his land. This was sixty years before the Pilgrims landed in New England. Long before the Puritans had learned religious liberty (for they drove out Roger Williams, and did not cease persecuting the Quakers till long after this), he emphasized religious freedom. The Elector thus showed that he comprehended that one of the great issues at stake in the war was freedom of conscience. The other act for which he is to be commended, is the gift to the Reformed Church of the cathedral at Berlin to be Reformed forever. This church was the church of the ruling line of Princes. It was therefore of the same faith as the Prince. George William, fearing lest some of his descendants might turn to some other religion, gave it forever to the Reformed. This was the more important, for it was the only Reformed place of worship in Berlin, and if it were taken from the Reformed, they would have no place in which to worship. The deed declares that if any of his successors went over to another faith, the church should pass into the hands of the presbyterium of the Reformed congregation. It orders that it shall have none but Reformed ministers and use none but Reformed orders of worship. This guaranteed the future

existence of the Reformed in Berlin, and as this was the leading city in Brandenburg, it guaranteed their existence in that province.*

The new Elector, Frederick William, was a very different man from his father, as decided as his father was timid. He was aggressive in his policy, and soon made the Emperor, already weakened by the costs of the long war, begin to feel his power. The Elector gradually separated from the Emperor, whom his father had joined in the Peace of Prague, by becoming neutral. And when the imperial army began oppressing his land, he beheaded a few of the offenders, and after that they made no more attempts at oppressing him. When he ascended the throne, he found that his father had not really ruled, but that his prime minister, Count Adam Schwarzenburg, ruled in the Mark Brandenburg, and the Dutch and Spaniards in Westphalia. He soon showed his ability by bringing order out of chaos, and gaining the control of those provinces for himself. In the peace negotiations which closed the war, he became very active. Here he especially showed his love for the Reformed faith. (He was a pious

* How sadly this gift and last will of George William have been perverted. The present cathedral is no more like a Reformed church than night is like day. Its service of responses, its altar, its crosses and boy choir are far removed from the simplicity of the Reformed service, and smack of the High Church Anglicanism, which the later Kings of Prussia have aped. Besides, none of its pastors at present are Reformed, and there has not been for years a Reformed minister among its pastors. All this came about through the union of the Reformed and Lutherans in 1817, which aimed to swallow up the Reformed in it.

Prince. He loved prayer and had an abiding hope in God. His motto was Psalm 143, "Lord, cause me to know the way wherein I should walk.")

He showed his special love for the Reformed by insisting in the peace negotiations that they should be recognized and named in that peace. He instructed his ambassador in the negotiations to demand for the Reformed the same rights and concessions as were made to the other religions. The Catholics did not oppose this, only saying it should be granted, if the Reformed would remain quiet, which the Reformed considered a quite unnecessary remark, as they had been quiet. The Lutherans of Germany, however, objected, especially the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, and Wellern, the court preacher of Saxony. Indeed, if the Elector of Brandenburg had not been so firm, and urged the matter with unabated zeal and industry, it would not have been brought to pass. The Reformed Church would have lost its rights, if this noble prince had not arisen from her bosom to insist on them. He instructed his envoys very determinedly, and in it he was supported by the envoys of Holland and Hesse-Cassel, and also by Sweden, which claimed that the condition of Germany should be the same at the close of the war as before its beginning. He sent this instruction to his ambassador, February 22, 1648, that he was not disposed to have the name among his large Lutheran population of peddling the Reformed religion as if it were a new faith, so that he

would have to beg for it an existence, because it was not recognized by law. It was suggested that a special clause be put into the treaty, having reference to the Reformed. This he opposed, for he demanded that they must be mentioned on an equality with the Lutherans and Catholics. They were to be mentioned wherever their rights were touched, and mentioned not as Evangelicals, but as Reformed. One of his nobles openly declared that he would have nothing to do with the affairs of the Protestant cause there, if this were not granted. All this produced a great impression on the deliberations of the Peace. And the fear of friction from this cause finally led all, who were so weary of the war, to make concessions, so as to get a treaty formulated. So finally the seventh article of the Peace gives to the Reformed the same rights as to the Lutherans. Saxony protested against this, but it was ineffectual, as was the effort made by the citizens of Dantzic in appealing to the Swedish Queen against it. To them Count Brahe replied: "Those who had part in the war must have part in the peace." It has been said by those favorable to the Union of the Churches in Germany, that the Reformed were recognized in this Peace, not as Reformed, but as adherents of the Augsburg Confession. "This," says Eb-
rard, "is not true. In the later recensions of the Peace, the phrase, 'adherents of the Augsburg Confession,' appears thirteen times, while the name Reformed appears thirty-five times, and Evangelical (including both Churches)

seventy times." In the seventh article the phrase is, "They who are called Reformed." The Reformed were therefore recognized by German law and given their rights. For this, great honor is due to the great Elector, although it must not be forgotten that this was the issue, for which the Landgravine Amalie of Hesse-Cassel was fighting all along. What Hesse-Cassel gained by war, the Elector gained by diplomacy. These two together kept up the agitation, until the times were ripe to embody it in the treaty, and until it was evident that no peace could be had without recognizing so large and influential a Church as the Reformed.

We cannot close this sketch of Brandenburg without a reference to the Electress Juliane of the Palatinate, the mother of Frederick V. She was a daughter of Prince William of Orange, and inherited much of his ability as a statesman. When Frederick was elected to the throne of Bohemia, she, with a statesman's eyes, saw the danger before him. She therefore opposed his acceptance. This led to her retirement from that court, and a coolness sprang up between the Electress Elizabeth, who wanted Frederick to accept, and herself. Her fears came only too true. Frederick was defeated and the Spaniards came into the Palatinate. Before them she was compelled to flee, and she went to Brandenburg, where the Elector George William, who was married to her daughter, gave her an asylum at Königsberg. Here, at the northeast corner of Germany, far removed from the war as it was possible in

that land, she quietly spent the years of the war, viewing its horrors from a distance. She, however, greatly aided in the formation of a Reformed church in that Lutheran city of Kœnigsberg, for she had Reformed service at the castle for her court, a large number of whom had come with her from the Palatinate and were Reformed. She showed the nobleness of her disposition, for when her daughter-in-law was fleeing from Bohemia, she forgot her previous differences with her, and most kindly endeavored to aid her in her distress. The babe which Electress Elizabeth bore at Custrin, Juliane had brought to Kœnigsberg, where she reared him. Says Bengel, the biographer of Elizabeth, "It was a trait of generosity that Juliane never became estranged from Elizabeth, however opposed they may have been in opinions. There was in each of these Princesses no common share of firmness and dignity, and if the younger might be personified Hope, the older was no less characterized by Resignation." When her son Frederick died, she beautifully comforted Elizabeth, although she herself was deeply moved. She died just before the close of the war, in 1644, sending her salutation to Elizabeth, "Give my farewell to the Queen of Bohemia. Tell her that in my last moments I give her my solemn benediction." She then freely conversed with her Reformed pastor about her Christian faith and declared her eagerness for heaven. "She combined the sagacity of a stateswoman with the sympathies of a woman and the magnanimity of a heroine."

CHAPTER VI.

SUMMARY AND RESULTS OF THE WAR.

At last peace came like an angel song from heaven to a generation, many of whom had grown up during the war and who had never before known what the blessings of peace were. The bells were rung, Te Deums were sung, Thanksgiving sermons were preached. The people went wild with the thought that the bitter and seemingly endless war was now at last over. And as the blessings of peace began to dawn upon them, they almost felt as if heaven had come down to earth after the pandemonium of such a war. What then was the effect of the war on the Reformed Church? It may be said to have been both disastrous and beneficial.

The war was a fearfully disastrous one to Germany. It is said that two-thirds of the population perished in the war. Her population fell from seventeen millions to four millions. "Germany was a great grave, a grave of good manners and morality, of justice and religion, science and art." But of all the lands in Germany, the Reformed districts suffered most. Hesse-Cassel lost one-fourth of her population. The Palatinate suffered the worst. Only one-fiftieth of the population is said to have remained.

The number of the Reformed was, therefore, at the end of the war very much less than at its beginning. And she lost not merely in *population*, but also in the number of her *princes*. Elector Frederick of the Palatinate was deposed, then Duke John Albert of Mecklenburg, then Landgrave William of Hesse-Cassel, beside some lesser princes, as the Count of Solms Braunfels. Of course these princes were reinstated by the close of the war, except the Duke of Mecklenburg, who had a Lutheran successor. But these Reformed princes lost prestige and influence, which it took years to regain. The Reformed Church also suffered at her centres, the *universities*. A peculiar fatality struck her seats of learning. They seemed to be the targets of the war. One after another they were lost or crippled. The Romish powers seemed determined to cripple Calvinism. Heidelberg was taken three times. Marburg was captured four times. Herborn suffered worse than sieges, as the enemy quartered their troops year after year near there. She was plundered and burnt three or four times, as well as repeatedly pillaged. Frankford on the Oder did not escape. She was captured four times. As these centres of learning were lost or weakened, of course the Reformed Church was weakened, for to them she looked for her supply of ministers.

In the midst of all these losses she found that even those who she supposed were her friends, turned out to

be indifferent or hostile. This was true especially of Gustavus Adolphus. His treatment of the Reformed has been a painful surprise. One would have supposed that as they were his allies, he would have treated them with great favor. But certain facts point the other way. His treatment of the Reformed King Frederick of the Palatinate shows this. He seems to have been very careful not to enlarge the Reformed Church, but rather to hinder her, especially where the Lutherans could gain an advantage. He showed this policy on different occasions. First he plundered Frankford on the Oder,* the very first Reformed centre he touched, and said that God punished them for their stiffneckedness in upholding false doctrines. This act made the Reformed lose hope in him. Professor Pelargus, as he told the story of his sufferings during the plundering at Frankford to the Reformed of Bremen, made them feel that Gustavus was as great an enemy to the Reformed, as the Emperor had been. Gustavus showed his feeling toward the Reformed very clearly at Frankford on the Main. When the Reformed congregation, which had been compelled by the Lutherans to build their church outside of the city walls, came to him and asked to be allowed to use a church in the city, he replied, "that he would rather have all his soldiers' spears and swords stuck into their hearts, than in any way to help the Calvinistic religion to grow through his victorious arms." His policy was to make use of the

* Hering, *History of Union Efforts*, Vol. I., page 330, note.

Reformed, but not to aid them. The Swedes, both before and after the death of Gustavus, tried to aid the Lutherans at the expense of the Reformed. Thus they greatly strengthened Lutheranism in the Palatinate. Wherever a town had a Swedish garrison, there they would place a Lutheran minister, who would gather the nucleus of a Lutheran congregation. The law declared, that where the Lutherans had the majority, there they should get the church building. This law was interpreted very liberally by the Swedes to favor the Lutherans, as at Oppenheim, Mosbach and Kreuznach, where the Reformed were in the majority. Indeed many of the Lutheran churches in the Palatinate owed their origin to the Swedes. Thus the Reformed were without a friend anywhere, the one solitary exception to this being Holland, when she captured Wesel. Even the Swedes took advantage of them. The Reformed Church lost much—population, rulers, land, ministers, church property and thousands of church members killed in battle or dead through the woes of the war. Her sufferings were beyond description, as her losses were beyond computation.

And yet, fearful as were her losses, the gain was commensurate with the loss. Great principles are worthy of great sacrifices. Sometimes it costs a war, with the loss of many lives and much money, in order to establish a great moral principle, yet the value of the principle outweighs the loss in every way. This was true of the Thirty Years' War. Few wars had such

important principles at stake. The principle of religious liberty established by the war was alone worth all the war cost, and much more. And the Reformed were amply repaid for their losses by gaining the recognition of their Reformed faith as a legal religion. Whereas she had existed before by sufferance, now she existed by law with equal rights with the other faiths, and mentioned by name in the treaty. Henceforth the Reformed religion was one of the established religions of Germany. The right of using the Heidelberg Catechism was granted to the Palatinate, and it came into common use in Hesse-Cassel. These grand results were worth the great sacrifices the Reformed had made. The Reformed Church had lost much, she now gained much. She gained rights, which would never be taken away from her. And, as a result of these new privileges, she took a new start after the war, and for half a century prospered very greatly.

We will get a better idea of her condition at the close of the war, by taking up the various Reformed lands separately.

The Palatinate.

Electors Charles Lewis came back to his land in 1649. He had left it a boy and came back to it a middle-aged man.* He came to the Palatinate from England, by way

* By a curious coincidence his uncle, King Charles I. of England, lost his crown just as Charles Lewis ascended his throne. Was this a revenge of history as well as a coincidence, because his father, King James I. of England, had so meanly refused to support his son-in-law, Frederick of the Palatinate? And now James' son loses his throne when Frederick's son gets his Electorate.

of Hesse-Cassel. He wanted to visit the Landgravine Amalie, who had so nobly supported his rights, and he chose her daughter as his wife. He entered Heidelberg, October 7, 1649. But how different it was from the land he had left. The paradise had become a desert. The streets were covered with weeds, the fields with thorns. A few huts stood where once was the dwelling place of the rich. His beautiful capital was in ruins. His palace with its splendid gardens, statues and water works that had rivalled Versailles, and had been the wonder of Europe, was in such a sad condition that he could not find a suitable place in it to live. He at once took measures to restore his land to prosperity, and was called the Restorer of the Palatinate, for which his economy and shrewdness aided him. He offered freedom from taxes for 20 years to those who would repair their property. He invited those who had emigrated to return. He also secured colonists from Holland, Switzerland, France and England. As a result his fertile land began to bloom again, so that Marshal Grammont, who had marched over it in 1646, when he again visited it twelve years after, was astonished at its progress and prosperity. The Church also began to flourish again like the land. Like Elector Frederick III., this Elector took the position that he was the spiritual father of his people, and he must see that their religious wants were supplied. While in England he had become opposed to the high church pomp of the Anglican Church.

Indeed, as Bengier says, "he had actually assumed his place in the convocation of divines sitting at Westminster, so as to recommend himself to the Puritans. But he was inclined to emphasize the practical aspects of religion rather than the doctrinal. Of the 347 ministers in the Palatinate at the beginning of the war, only one-tenth remained, and these mainly in towns garrisoned by the Swedes. Fifty-four others were still alive in foreign countries, and of them the greater part returned. The Reformed consistory was re-established in 1649, and the old Palatinate Church Order was re-published, an old copy of it having been found in the archives at Frankenthal. But owing to the poverty of the court and of the people, many of the parishes could not be supplied with pastors. Collections were taken up in foreign lands for the poor Palatines. Thus the Canton of Berne gave six hundred ducats in 1651. The Reformed university was re-opened November 1, 1652, with splendid services, but so great was the poverty of the government, that at first only one professor of theology was appointed, Tossanus. Afterward Hottinger of Zurich, and Spanheim from Holland, came as professors of theology. The former brought with him twenty Swiss students, so great was his popularity at home. The university soon flourished, and numbered one hundred and nineteen students. Fabricius was appointed professor of theology in 1660, and became the great leader of the Reformed of the Palatinate during the rest of the

century. The Elector in his zeal to elevate the university even went so far as to invite the Dutch Pantheist, Spinoza, to become a professor in it. But Fabricius contrived that in the invitation sent to Spinoza, there should be a clause stating that while the greatest freedom of inquiry would be allowed to him, yet nothing that would unsettle Christianity, would be permitted. Spinoza perhaps took the hint, and did not accept the invitation of the Elector. The visitation of the churches, an old Reformed custom, was revived in 1658 and district synods or classes were organized. Thus the Reformed Church was again thoroughly organized, and began to flourish as before the war.

Nassau.

The most important event for the district of the Wetterau was the elevation of Herborn to the rank of a university. Before she had been merely a high school, with powers granted by the Count of Dillenburg, but she had not received privileges from the Emperor. Although she had been in existence for sixty-eight years, yet she was only a high school. Now, however, through the mediation of Melander and of Count John Maurice of Nassau Siegen, the Emperor, in return for the great sacrifices Nassau had made during the war, elevated her to a university in 1652. But there were a number of expenses incidental to this. The diploma cost 4,100 gulden. This, unfortunately, the Nassau counties were unable to raise,

nor were they able to pay the cost of the seal or the salary of the chancellor or secretary. With a great deal of difficulty half of the cost of the diploma was raised, and here the matter was rested for fifty years. The Emperor granted the diploma, but as they had not paid for it, it was placed in the archives of Mayence. In 1615 the senate of the high school asked the Evangelical Princes of Nassau to redeem the diploma, the amount that remained to be raised being about 1450 gulden. But they were not able to raise it, nor was it raised till 1740. And when it was raised, by a curious perversity of fortune the diploma, which had been granted so long before, could not be found. And yet this high school, though not a university, did the work of a university, and was a centre of influence for the Reformed Church.

Brandenburg.

The most important event for this electorate was the founding of the Reformed University of Duisburg in the northern Rhine. This war finally settled the controversy between the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Pfalz Neuburg for the districts of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark. Brandenburg received Cleve and Mark, and Pfalz Neuburg, Berg and Julich. The Elector of Brandenburg then determined to carry out a plan of the former Duke, namely, of founding a university. He was anxious to do this so as to supply the needs of the many Reformed

in his Rhenish provinces (there were 90,000 in 1670), and also that it might be a counter-poise to arrest the influence of the Romish University at Cologne. As the Duke of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark had gained the imperial privileges for his university as early as 1566, it was comparatively easy to carry out this plan. The university was opened October 4, 1656, in the presence of Count John Maurice of Nassau Siegen and other nobles. The church of the Catharine cloister was given to them for recitation purposes. This university very soon revealed a free and progressive spirit. Thus it began the use of German in its class rooms instead of the Latin. From the beginning it welcomed the Cartesian philosophers, even when driven out of other universities, as Herborn. Its first rector was John Clauberg, a Cartesian and a Cocceian. Still the university was not very large—92 in 1655, 61 in 1701. It was too near the Dutch universities, who drew away the students from the Northern Rhine. This university continued in existence until the beginning of this century, when it was closed to be re-opened afterward at Bonn. The Elector also founded a gymnasium at Hamm, the capital of the province of Mark, which for a while so greatly prospered that it rivalled Duisburg in the number of its students. But then it went down, until the Seventy Years' War closed it.

The other university of Brandenburg, Frankford on the Oder, which had lost most of its professors and endow-

ments by the war, again began to prosper as the Elector increased its privileges and income. Only one professor remained, Franke, but the Elector appointed Reichel, and after his death in 1653, Bekmann and George Bergius, a son of John Bergius, who had been a professor there before. But the university never became large, as there were few Reformed in Eastern Germany. It, however, greatly helped the Reformed Church in Eastern Europe by training many students for the neighboring Reformed Churches in Poland, Bohemia and Hungary.

Hesse-Cassel.

Here the Reformed Church was also more thoroughly organized. The university of Marburg was revived in 1653, with John Crocius as rector.* Landgrave William VI. thoroughly re-organized the Reformed Church government. In doing this, however, he showed his unionistic tendencies. His Church Order departed from the simple Reformed cultus. He appointed a commission, April 28, 1655, of whom Superintendents Hutterodt and Neuberger and Professor Crocius were members. They found themselves unable to produce a Church Order based on the former one of 1574, and yet suitable to the unionistic tendencies of the Landgrave, so they intro-

* The only Reformed church at Marburg had been the garrison church, but now the Landgrave gave the Dominican cloister to them as a university church. The famous church of St. Elizabeth at Marburg was also used sometimes by the Reformed, the illustrious Professor Kirchmeyer, surnamed the Greater, preaching there.

duced a thoroughly Reformed Church Order. But this did not suit the Landgrave. He appointed another commission, and called a General Synod, May 13, 1656, to adopt their Church Order. But the General Synod, to the vexation of the Landgrave, approved the work of the first commission in its Reformed position. The Landgrave was of course again annoyed by this decision. He then appointed a new commission, consisting mainly of laymen, although Hudderoth and Crocius were on it. Their Church Order was hurriedly and secretly printed. When the first part of it appeared, the Reformed ministerium of Cassel, on January 19, 1659, made a vigorous protest against it, declaring that it would Lutheranize the Reformed Church. But the Landgrave made it a law, in spite of these protests, July 12, 1657. This liturgy differs in a number of respects from the Palatinate liturgy, which was in common use among the Reformed. It introduced the pericopes or Scripture lessons, which were never approved by any purely Reformed Church Order, and are not found in any other Reformed Church Order. Both Goebel* and Cuno† call the Landgrave a Lutheranizer, and the Church Order not properly Reformed. And yet this Church Order has been quoted by high churchmen in the Reformed Church as a really Reformed liturgy. It, however, ordered the introduction of the

* History of the Rhenish Westphalian Church, Vol. II., page 516.

† Reformed Princes, pages 52 and 53.

Heidelberg Catechism into the upper classes of the schools, and thus gave the Heidelberg Catechism confessional authority. This fixed the doctrinal position of the Hessian Church as Reformed, while the liturgy inclined to make it unionistic. This was the first official recognition of the Heidelberg Catechism, which had been gradually introduced into Lower Hesse. This Church Order settled the condition of Hesse-Cassel for a century. It is still in use in Hesse-Cassel.

The Doctrinal Position of the Reformed Church.

This may be stated in a word by saying that while the Princes were inclined toward union with the Lutherans, the theologians still clung to their Calvinistic faith. Of the Princes, the Elector of the Palatinate was strongly inclined to union. He was very liberal in his views of religious liberty, even giving a home in his land to Sabatarians (who observe the seventh day instead of the first as Sunday). He built the Concordia church at Manheim, in which Lutherans, Reformed and Romanists could worship together. He looked with hope on the Saumur school of Calvinism, that it would be the bond to join Lutherans and Reformed together. He had his theologians have two conferences with the Lutherans at Deinach, in 1656, between the Reformed Professor Hottinger and the Lutheran, Weller; the other at Frankford in 1658, between Hottinger and Gerlach. He attempted

to get an understanding between the Reformed and the Lutherans on the basis of the Wittenberg Concord. In all this the wife of Duke George of Montbeliard, a descendant of Coligny, supported him in trying to bring about a peace between the Lutheran Church of Wurtemberg and the Reformed Church of the Palatinate.

The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, we have seen, was favorable to union between the Reformed and the Lutherans. He and his court were doubtless influenced toward this by John Dury, the peacemaker of that age, who for many years found a home at Cassel, at the expense of the Landgravine. But while the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was favorable to union, the Elector of Brandenburg held firmly to the Reformed faith, although he believed in mutual toleration. This is proved by his treatment of the case of Paul Gerhardt. This tendency toward union at times was also shown by the fact that three conferences were held on union, at Leipsic in 1631, at Cassel in 1661, and at Berlin in 1662. These conferences revealed the desire for union. But it was found when the theologians came together, that the times were not yet ripe for church union.

On the other hand, while many of the Princes were inclined toward union with the Lutherans, the Reformed ministers still held to their Calvinistic position, and were not inclined to give it up. Their very persecutions made them love the old faith the more. The influence of the

Synod of Dort was felt in Germany, although its canons were not officially adopted by the German churches. Higher Calvinism spread into those parts of Germany which had been inclined to low Calvinism, as Brandenburg and Bremen, and Hesse-Cassel. Let us look at the representative men of the Reformed Church. The most prominent Reformed theologians of that period reveal the position of the Church. Henry Alting, professor at Heidelberg at the beginning of the war, was a strong Calvinist. He was driven out by the war and became professor in Holland. Scultetus, also professor at the beginning of the war, was a high Calvinist. One of the strongest thinkers of the Reformed church was Wendelin. He was born in the Palatinate and studied at Heidelberg. The days of his course in that university lay in the troublous time of Prince Casimir, when he was trying to re-introduce the Reformed faith into the Palatinate, after Elector Lewis had driven it out. In the midst of the theological controversies of that day he formed his doctrinal belief, and thus became a strong infralapsarian. He became professor at Zerbst in 1611, where he taught for forty-one years, until his death in 1652. Both of his works on theology reveal his strong Calvinistic position, as well as his scholastic method of arrangement, though he reveals great keenness of analysis, even inclined to dialectics. Rev. Prof. Krauth, the Lutheran professor of Philadelphia, although a strong Lutheran, looked on Wendelin as one of the most acute of the Reformed theologians.

Another very prominent Reformed theologian of that day was John Crocius. He was born at Wittgenstein, July 28, 1590. His father, Paul Crocius, was the author of the *Book of the Martyrs*, which exerted as great an influence among the Germans as Fox's *Book of Martyrs* did among the English speaking people. John was a precocious youth. At the early age of twenty-three he was made court preacher of Landgrave Maurice, and at twenty-four doctor of theology. At twenty-four he was loaned by his master to the Elector of Brandenburg to take the place of Scultetus in introducing the Reformed faith into Brandenburg. The Elector wanted to try and retain him, and make him professor of theology at his university at Frankford on the Oder. But Landgrave Maurice refused to give him up, and after he had served the Elector for two years, his master recalled him and made him professor of theology at the University of Marburg, although only twenty-seven years old. He died at Marburg, July 1, 1659. That Crocius is Calvinistic is abundantly shown by Claus, his biographer, and by Munscher in his history of the Reformed Church of Hesse.*

* Claus shows that the Calvinistic position of Crocius is proved by the position of the Reformed at the conference at Leipsic, where the Reformed held to particular election, instead of universal atonement, even though Bergius, the other Reformed theologian there, had taught the latter doctrine for many years. Claus says (*Life of Crocius*, page 81), "The great head of his system, as of Calvin's, was the glory of God. He places first the doctrine of creation, then of the fall, then redemption. He held that God called a certain number, which is neither larger nor smaller."

This Calvinistic position of the Reformed was revealed at the conferences at Leipsic, Cassel and Berlin, where the Reformed held that predestination was a fundamental part of their system of doctrine. Heppe says of the Cassel Conference,* "That this conference shows that the German peculiarity of the Hessian theology was now absorbed by predestinarian Calvinism."

* Herzog Encyclopædia, Vol. III, page 155.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

THE FRENCH REFUGEES.

The Reformed Church of Germany received an important addition, when sixty thousand refugees from France emigrated to Germany after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685. They were important, not only for their number, but also for their influence. Many of them were nobles, most of them were artizans, or manufacturers. Their descendents now number over a million. Their coming strengthened the Reformed Church in various ways. It gave her some of their most prominent men on the continent, as ministers, generals and statesmen. It strengthened the Reformed, where they were weak in numbers, as in Brandenburg. And it strengthened their Calvinism, where it was inclined to be affected by the prevailing Lutheranism around it. The French churches have always been an important element in the Reformed Church of Germany, and, therefore, deserve special mention. Before, however, we speak of their immigration into Germany, it is proper that we should speak of him who was the master mind in their reception,



FREDERICK WILLIAM, THE GREAT ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG.

Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg. He especially deserves mention, because he appears in European history as the great protector of the Reformed. And with him we cannot help mentioning his first wife, the Electress Louisa Henrietta.

SECTION I.

. FREDERICK WILLIAM, THE GREAT ELECTOR.

Frederick William deserves to be called the Great Elector, for he had many characteristics of greatness. He was great as a general, for he held his ground against Russia, Austria, France and the German realm. He was great as a statesman, for by his wisdom he had increased his territories from 1,300 square miles with 800,000 population at the beginning of his reign, to 1,932 square miles, with a population at his death of 1,500,000. He was also great as a builder. He built new parts of Berlin, as the Dorothean and Werder districts, so that the city from 6,000 in 1640, became 17,000 in 1685. He was great in his pity, for he was the defender of the oppressed of every land, but especially of the Reformed. And he capped all his greatness by his piety. His motto was : "Lord, cause me to know the way I should go." He was, therefore, great in every respect. Indeed, one eulogist considers him greater even than Frederick the Great. For the latter found everything prepared for him by an economical father, so that he could become great ;

but Frederick William found everything against him at the beginning of his reign, as the Thirty Years' War had left the land bleeding at many pores. Yet he made Brandenburg a mighty military power, and thus prepared the way for his grandson, Frederick the Great, to gain his victories. The latter on one occasion, when he removed the cathedral in 1750, had the coffin of the Great Elector, who was buried there, opened. And taking the withered hand, he covered it with kisses, and said to those around : "Gentlemen, this man did a good work." He was the only ancestor worthy of such a descendent as Frederick the Great. For he it was who raised up Brandenburg and laid the foundations, on which Frederick the Great could build.

He was born February 16, 1620. He came very nearly being educated by the Romish prime minister of his father, Count Adam of Schwarzenburg. But fortunately his mother, a Princess of the Palatinate House, had not forgotten the woes of her brother Frederick from the Romanists, and she prevented it. Besides, the dangers of the war compelled his parents to send him out of the country to Holland when 14 years of age, where he was surrounded by Reformed influences. He went to school with his unfortunate cousins, the exiled princes of the Palatinate, and often visited his aunt, the Electress Elizabeth. He was there brought in contact with the princes of Orange, those magnificent warriors and statesmen, and

thus by study and observation he was prepared to be the soldier he afterwards became. He showed nobility of character, for on one occasion, when others were tempting him into vile temptations there, he, like Joseph of old, fled from them suddenly to the camp of the prince of Orange, saying as he left them, "I am debtor to my parents, my honor, my land." He was called to the throne of his land at the early age of 21. He at once grasped the sceptre with the grip of a leader. We have already seen how his decision of character gained for the Reformed their rights at the Peace of Westphalia. He became their great protector in all lands, especially after the death of Cromwell, who had claimed the title of "protector of the Reformed." When the Duke of Savoy persecuted the Waldenses, he interceded for them. When Count John of Anhalt Zerbst became Lutheran and tried to force his Reformed subjects to become Lutheran, the Great Elector interceded for them, but he only partly succeeded in having the Nicolai church at Zerbst retained for them. When the Romish Duke of Pfalz-Neuburg began to oppress his Reformed subjects by taking away their churches, Frederick William made reprisals in his own land of Cleve. He also sent an army of 5000 into the Duke's territories, until the Duke stopped his persecutions. When the Reformed were persecuted in Hungary, he had an agent at Presburg to aid them, and when the Dutch Admiral De Ruyter rescued thirty Hungarian Reformed ministers

from the galleys at Naples, he gladly furnished the money for their travelling expenses to a Protestant land. He was also deeply interested in the expedition of Prince William of Orange to England to take the throne, for he feared another religious war in Europe. So he sent 9000 Brandenburg troops, and also his best general, Marshall Schomberg, to aid William to gain the decisive battle of the Boyne. Thus, as one writer says, Frederick William appears in defence of the Reformed, as Frederick III. of the Palatinate had appeared for the Heidelberg Catechism in the previous century at the Diet of Augsburg. If such was his interest for the Reformed of other lands, we can expect that he showed the same interest for the Reformed of his own land. Although only three Reformed churches existed in his realm at the beginning of his reign, many more were organized before its close. His prime minister, Von Schwerin, bought Alt Landsburg, three miles from Berlin, and introduced Dutch colonists into it, who founded, in 1620, a Reformed church, the first new Reformed church in Brandenburg. As the new districts (the Dorothean and the Werder) of Berlin were built, he erected churches in them, at which was a Reformed pastor. He built the Reformed castle chapel at Potsdam in 1687. Hering, in his History of the Brandenburg Reformed Church, mentions twelve Reformed churches organized during his reign. In addition to these he prepared the way for the organization of many more, for he welcomed

the French refugees, who founded many Reformed churches about the time or soon after his death. He was a most pious Prince and set a good example of piety for his people. Morning and evening he had service in his chamber. He attended the Lord's Supper regularly, and on all Reformed festival days he attended church in the morning, and in the afternoon listened to the explanation of a psalm. When he went into battle, he prepared himself by prayer. And often publicly before the soldiers he had prayer in his carriage. At the Battle of Fehrbellin he called his retainers to him, saying, "I could not sleep, but I feel sure God will give us the victory." And after the battle he wrote, that not to himself, but to God belonged the honor of the victory. As he was so careful to observe the private devotions, he also favored public services for his people. It is an interesting fact to the Reformed that the beautiful street in Berlin, "Under the Lindens," which was originally laid out by Frederick's second wife, Dorothea, a Reformed princess, was at first used for open air service for the Reformed. When the church in the Dorothean district was being built, open air services were held there on pleasant afternoons under three great lindens, which marked the spot and which were the beginning of that beautiful street. When he was offered the crown of Poland in 1668, if he would renounce his faith and become a Romanist, he nobly replied, "And were it the Emperor's throne, I would cast it aside, if I had to purchase it by the loss of my religion."

Indeed, his earnest zeal for the Reformed faith has been misinterpreted. He has been charged with bigotry, as in the famous case of Paul Gerhardt. This needs to be considered. For according to the legend, Paul Gerhardt was persecuted by Elector Frederick William, driven out of Brandenburg, and was in great need, when he was led to write the famous hymn, "Commit thou all thy griefs," and yet his faith was rewarded by receiving just then an appointment from the Elector of Saxony to the abbacy of Lubben. This legend reflects on the great Elector, as if he were a bigot and a persecutor. But the legend is not true to facts. The opposite to the legend is true. Not Frederick William, but Paul Gerhardt, was the bigot. Paul Gerhardt was pastor of the St. Nicholas Lutheran church at Berlin in 1657, and became the most popular preacher in the city. It happened that the Lutherans often attacked the Reformed from their pulpits as heretics. The Elector determined that these scandalous polemics, which brought so much disgrace to the cause of religion, should be stopped, and that the gospel should be preached instead of polemics. He then, June 2, 1662, renewed the edict of his grandfather, Elector John Sigismund, made in 1614, which forbade all polemical attacks on the faith of others. He also forbade any theological students of his province from going to the University of Wittenberg, which was the place where the minds of the students were so prejudiced against the Reformed. This last decree caused

a tremendous sensation and much opposition, as most of the Lutheran students of his land went to Wittenberg. He also ordered that all Lutheran theological students, when they were admitted to the ministry, must take a pledge that they would not attack the Reformed from the pulpit. This many of them said they could not do, for their creed, the Formula of Concord, condemned the Reformed doctrine. It was therefore a matter of conscience to them that they should be true to their creed, and, like it, attack the Reformed. He held a conference on union in 1662, in which Gerhardts refused to fraternize with the Reformed. As his efforts were not regarded by some of the ministry, and polemics against the Reformed continued, the Elector two years later (September 16, 1664) issued a sharper edict which threatened the offenders with dismissal from their positions, and demanded of every Lutheran minister his subscription to a document pledging them not to attack the Reformed under pain of dismissal. This edict caused a still greater disturbance throughout the land. In the Mark two hundred ministers signed it, but many delayed signing. Of the ministers in Berlin, Lilius and Reinhar refused to sign it. They were, therefore, removed in April, 1665. Lilius, however, retracted in February, 1666, and was again restored to his position. But Reinhard left the land.

It now came to Gerhardts turn. He was very much opposed to the edict. At the conference between the

Lutherans and Reformed in 1662, he had said, "I do not hold the Calvinists for Christians."* Gerhardts was called before the consistory, February 13, and given fourteen days to consider whether he would agree not to attack the Reformed. But before he left the consistory, he declared that he would not sign the pledge. He was therefore dismissed, although his dismissal caused great sorrow. Sympathy for him was increased, because just then he lost a son, and his wife went into a decline. Meetings were held in the city in his interest, and petitions were sent to the Elector interceding for him. The trades of Berlin, the town council, and finally the states of Brandenburg, yes, even the Reformed ministers joined in these petitions. Personally the Elector had the highest regard for Gerhardts, and had already put one of his hymns into the Mark Reformed hymn book. But the Elector felt that there was a principle at stake. He determined that there should be religious toleration. He had made up his mind that these denunciations of the Reformed by the Lutherans must stop, and the Reformed must be treated as brethren. Finally, perhaps through the intercession of his wife, the beautiful Electress Louisa Henrietta, who was a great friend of Paul Gerhardts, he gave way. Because Gerhardts had not been accustomed to publicly attacking the Reformed in his services, an exception would be made of him. The Elector, therefore, permitted him to resume

* See "John Sigismund and Paul Gerhardts," by Wangeman, page 172.

his office without subscribing to the edict, or pledging himself not to attack the Reformed. From all this we see that it was the Elector who was tolerant, and Gerhardt who was intolerant. It was the Elector who was acting mercifully (instead of persecuting), by making Gerhardt the exception to the edict. The legend is evidently wrong. This is the more evident, the farther we proceed with the true story. The Elector sent word to Gerhardt that he was reappointed to his old position as pastor of St. Nicolas church, but added that he relied on Gerhardt's well known moderation, so that without subscribing to the edict, he would still carry it out in spirit. But Gerhardt's conscience would not rest easy under such an implied subscription to the edict. He felt he had gone back somewhat on his creed, the Formula of Concord, which condemns the Reformed doctrine as heretical. So he was unhappy under it, and, therefore, wrote to the magistrates soon after, January 26, 1667, asking to be relieved of his position as pastor, because his conscience gave him no rest under the implied subscription to the edict. There is no question that Gerhardt was conscientious, but at the same time the Elector ought not to be blamed for Gerhardt's hyper-conscientiousness. Gerhardt was, therefore, dismissed. He was not driven from his position, as the legend says, but resigned it of his own accord. And there is still another fact to show that the Elector was not cruel, but kind. For six months the Elector waited

without appointing a successor, hoping that Gerhardt would reconsider his withdrawal. Now in view of these facts the legend, that he was driven out of Berlin by the Elector, and ordered to leave within four hours, and that penniless and helpless he wrote his hymn, "Commit thou all thy griefs," is all false. For the Elector waited a year before Gerhardt was finally dismissed, and even then suffered six months more to elapse, hoping that he would reconsider the matter. Instead of haste, there was delay, and every opportunity was given to Gerhardt to return. No, it was the Elector who was broad-minded in his sympathies here, and who longed for the two denominations to treat each other as brethren, while Gerhardt was narrow and bigoted, and refused to promise to treat the Reformed as brethren. Gerhardt was called to the abbacy of Lubben, September, 1668, where he afterwards died.

The Elector ruled Brandenburg for forty-eight years. His second wife, after the death of Louisa Henrietta, was Princess Dorothea of Holstein who left the Lutheran faith to become Reformed. He named the Dorothean district after her. She planted the first linden in that now famous street, "Under the Linden." That street is an illustration of the great growth from the Elector's small beginning, and is therefore a monument to his memory, and to the Reformed Princess who first started it. He died April 29, 1688, at Potsdam. He was a pious man.

Whenever he went into his campaigns, he took his New Testament and his Psalms with him. When he found any among his citizens careless about religion, he tried to influence him, saying: "It is a good thing for a man to be pious, but he must be also upright." His death was a triumphant one. When his court preacher came into his room, he joyfully said, "I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course." When asked as to his hope, he replied: "Christ is mine and I am His." He died with, "I know that my Redeemer lives," on his lips. His motto at the battle of Warsaw, "With God," was fulfilled as he was taken to be with God. One of his last sentences was, "While I breathe, I hope and my hope is in Christ."

CHAPTER I.—SECTION II.

ELECTRESS LOUISA HENRIETTA.

More interesting even than the Great Elector, is his first wife, Louisa Henrietta. She too was greatly interested in the French refugees, for she was the granddaughter of Coligny. She is the saint and songstress of the German Reformed Church. What Miriam was among the Israelites, she was to the Reformed—the sweet singer of Israel. She was a Dutch Princess descended from the great families of Coligny and Orange. Her father, Count Frederick Henry of Orange-Nassau, was governor of the Netherlands from 1625 to 1647. Her mother was a German Princess, Countess Amalie of Solms. She was thus of noble blood, but made nobler by grace. She was born at the Hague, November 27, 1627. Both of her parents were of the Reformed faith. Her mother, a woman of unusual intelligence, piety and beauty, educated her with great care. Although French fashions were popular at the court, she did not think it beneath her to train her daughter in the mysteries of housekeeping. Louisa grew up tall, fair-haired and graceful. Her religious training she received from Rivet, a Reformed theologian. She loved her Bible, and it became her constant companion.

Many passages, especially from Isaiah, remained in her memory as the result of her early training.

When she was about eighteen years of age, Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg was busy in Western Germany watching the negotiations that closed the Thirty Years' War. He also began negotiations of love as well as of peace. As he had been educated in Holland, he knew Louisa when she was a girl, and had heard of her beauty as a young lady. This brave young Prince therefore proposed to this beautiful Princess, and was accepted. Of course there were difficulties in the way, for when did the course of true love run smooth even to princes? The Thirty Years' War had so impoverished his land, that he had to borrow three thousand thalers of his mother in order to get married. Louisa too was held back, because her father was in such poor health. But the wedding came off, December 7, 1646, with great splendor, as was becoming Princes of such high rank.* But the bride did not go to Germany immediately after the wedding on account of the ill health of her father. Faithfully she ministered to him until he died, about three months after the wedding. Then she accompanied her husband to Cleve, in Western Germany. Here her first child was born. The peace of Westphalia having closed the war, the Elector

* The bride wore a costly dress of silver brocade, rich with Brabant lace. A crown of pearls and brilliants adorned her head. The long train of her dress were carried by six ladies of noble birth. The elector was not less elegantly dressed. He wore pants and vest of white satin. The front of his vest was so full of diamonds, that one could hardly discover the color of the cloth.

started toward his capital, Berlin. It was a long, hard and sad journey. When they arrived at Wesel, their child died. The journey was made all the sadder because of the terrible devastations of the war. The roads were in a frightful condition, the fields were desolate, the people were poor and many of them starving. Their sufferings, added to her own sorrows, made the journey very sad. But her sorrows only drove her closer to her Lord. Sad hearts sing sweetest songs. At Tangermünde she had a month of rest and quiet. Here she poured out her soul in that immortal German hymn, "Jesus, meine Zuversicht." It was the out-growth of her sorrows over the loss of her child, and revealed her beautiful hope in Christ. It is evidently based on the 46th Psalm: "God is our refuge (Zuversicht) and strength;" also on Job 19: 25, 27: "I know that my Redeemer liveth," and on 1 Corinthians, 15th chapter. The following is a translation (although it is difficult in translations to bring out the beauty of the original):

Jesus my Redeemer lives,
And His life I soon shall see;
Bright the hope this promise gives;
Where He is, I too shall be.
Shall I fear Him? Can the Head
Rise and leave the members dead?

Close to Him my soul is bound,
In the bonds of hope enclasped;
Faith's strong hand this hold hath found,
And the Rock hath firmly grasped.
Death shall ne'er my soul remove
From the refuge in Thy love.

I shall see Him with these eyes,
Him whom I shall surely know,
Not another shall I rise ;
With His love my heart shall glow ;
Only there shall disappear
Weakness in and round me here.

Ye who suffer, sigh and moan,
Fresh and glorious there shall reign ;
Earthly here the seed is sown,
Heavenly it shall rise again ;
Natural here the death we die,
Spiritual our life on high.

Body, be thou of good cheer,
In thy Savior's care rejoice ;
Give not place to gloom and fear,
Dead, thou yet shalt know His voice,
When the final trump is heard,
And the deaf, cold grave is stirred.

Laugh to scorn, then death and hell,
Fear no more the gloomy grave ;
Caught into the air to dwell
With the Lord who comes to save,
We shall trample on our foes,
Mortal weakness, fear and woes.

Only see ye that your heart
Rise betimes from earthly lust
Would ye there with Him have part,
Here obey your Lord and trust.
Fix your hearts above the skies,
Whither ye yourselves would rise.

How grandly she rises over her sorrows in this hymn,
and how sweetly she comforts others by it. She then
traveled with her husband through Minden and Halber-
stadt to Berlin, where, after a six months' journey, she

arrived, April 10, 1650. Berlin had suffered severely through the war, and was then a city of only a few thousand inhabitants. The Elector had begun to make improvements, and the castle was again fitted up. The side of it towards the river Spree, which had been used as a prison, and called "the green hat," he refitted into pleasant apartments for his wife. The park before the place, which through the war had become a wilderness, he again beautified by planting trees and flowers, even planting onions (then so fashionable with the Dutch) among the tulip and hyacinth beds.

But the Electress was not fond of the gayety of court life. She preferred a quieter home, where she could meditate upon her God. It happened one day, while out hunting, that she expressed herself delighted with an old hunting castle of the thirteenth century, north of Berlin. Her kind husband, ever ready to satisfy her slightest wish, presented it to her, together with the neighboring district. He began building a castle for her there, which was finished in 1652. She then removed there, having given it the name of Oranienburg (the castle of Orange), naming it after her family, the family of Orange-Nassau. This is the place especially associated with her life. She labored to make the district around the castle as productive as possible. She imported skilled gardeners from Holland, and founded quite a Dutch colony there. Among other things, she introduced the potato from Hol-



ELECTRESS LOUISA HENRIETTA OF BRANDENBURG.

land, which proved to be a great boon to the Germans, who had become poor through the devastations of the war, and soon the potato was universally cultivated. Of course these Hollanders brought their Reformed religion with them, and there was a Reformed church founded there. She was continually doing good. She founded primary schools, where the war had swept them away. Every day she was showing some kindness to the people. No wonder she became a great favorite among them. They named most of their daughters after her. And as late as half a century ago, her portrait was still found on the walls of many farmers' houses. As an illustration of her kindly spirit, the following story is told. On one occasion one of her servants stole something while she was at church. When she learned of the theft, instead of punishing him, she gave him a goodly number of ducats, and told him to get away as quickly as possible, before her husband found it out. When her husband heard of the theft, he became very angry, and said he would have hung the thief. To this she responded: "Even if all my gold and jewels were stolen, yet, if I had my way, not a drop of blood would be shed for it."

In this rural palace she lived in religious quietness. She was very diligent in her devotions. Much of her time was taken up in singing, reading of Scriptures and other religious exercises. She was always at church service. It is said, she made it a rule never to look into a

looking-glass before going to church, for fear pride and fashion would disturb her thoughts. Her court preacher, Stosch, held many religious services in her palace. She was always very glad to see him, and gave orders that when he arrived, he would not have to observe the usual rules of court etiquette, and have himself announced, but could at once go to her apartments without such formality. Often she conversed with him on religious topics for three hours at a time. He bore a high testimony to her religious character, as he said : " I have spent many hundred hours with her in private audience, talking to her about spiritual things." Indeed her room was more like a temple than a palace, for nothing that was not religious was allowed there. She always had morning and evening prayers.

She had not been well since the loss of her first child, and in 1653 sickness still further reduced her strength, and a secret source of anxiety weighed on her heart. She had no child, and she foresaw that if her line had no heir, it would plunge her land into untold troubles and wars about the succession to the throne, and she feared lest a Romish Prince might become Elector. She also heard the complaint of her people, that her line would run out with her. For a long time, like Hannah of old, she carried her burden and prayed. At last her anxiety became too great to be borne. And in her utter self-abnegation she came to a decision that for the sake of her land

and of her husband she would formally withdraw by divorce. She came to Berlin and announced her decision. But the Elector nobly refused her proposal, replying, "I will be true to you, and if it is God's will to punish the land, we must submit, God can still help. My Louisa, have you forgotten the words, 'What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.'" Greatly relieved and comforted by his decision, she went back to Oranienburg. Her prayers were finally heard. The Lord did for her as for Hannah. On Tuesday, February 16, 1655, a son, Emil, was born, and in memory of that event, every Tuesday after that was kept sacred by prayer, as a fast day on which she had religious service. In connection with the birth of this child, Bergius preached seven sermons on Hannah's prayer, its answer and her thankfulness, which were published. In 1665 she opened an orphanage at Oranienburg as a thank offering to God for the gift of a son.

During the wars that followed she was her husband's firm support and adviser. In spite of rough roads and the dangers of war, she went with him on his journeys. During the Swedish war she bravely went with him to Königsberg, although the roads were in such a frightful condition that she could travel only eight miles in two days. The Swedes then forced the Elector to join them against the Poles. As a result the Poles and Tartars ravaged Brandenburg terribly, burning no less than 31 towns

and murdering many thousand inhabitants. These terrible events so preyed on her mind that she suffered from horrible dreams. During the wars she was very solicitous for the spiritual condition of the soldiers, and ordered that a New Testament should be given to each soldier. After the war she bore another son, Frederick, who became the next King. She followed her husband in the Pomeranian war with the Swedes, travelling with him as far as the upper end of Jutland. Then she went to western Germany, where she contracted a cold, which produced a severe cough. She went to Holland, hoping to get better. In spite of inclement weather she never gave up attending church. But on March 14, as she came out of church service, she remarked to her lady in waiting that she feared she might never live to get back to Berlin. After Easter she started for Berlin, for she was very anxious to see her husband and children before she died. The journey was a rough and long one. She became weaker and weaker on the way. When she arrived at Hamm in Westphalia, she thought she would die. But she prayed God most earnestly to spare her life, that she might see her husband again, and then she would say, "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy handmaiden depart in peace." Her prayer was answered, her husband came as far as Halberstadt to meet her, and the rest of the journey she had to make in a sedan chair, because she was so weak. She was, however, greatly comforted all through her journey

by the ministrations of Spanheim, one of the most renowned Reformed theologians of that day. He said of her that "Her patience is an example for us. Job and Jonah murmured; David cried out: How long? but she never complained because of her weakness. She only complained that she gave so much trouble to others." One day he preached to her on the text, "God with us." She beautifully applied it to her own case. "God with us, what a comfort in the sorrow of solitude, in dangerous waters, in the house of sorrow." Finally she arrived at Berlin. Prayers were offered up in all the churches for her recovery. But still her weakness and sickness increased. The Elector often watched beside her and comforted her by repeating Scripture texts. Not long before her death her chaplain, Stosch, asked her "if she felt that God was a gracious Father?" She replied, "Yes." That testimony was her last word, for she died a few days later, on June 28, 1667. The whole land mourned her departure. Stosch preached a funeral sermon on Job 13: 15: "Though he slay me, yet will I trust him." She was greatly missed by the nation, but by none so much as by the Elector. For she inherited the wisdom of a stateswoman from her ancestors, Coligny and William of Orange, and often had given him the best of advice in his political movements. After her death he was often found standing before her picture, crying out: "O Louisa, Louisa, if you were only with me with your coun-

sels." Few Princesses were so loved as she. Her memory still remains green among the German people. Nearly two hundred years after her death the town of Oranienburg erected a monument to her. It is a life-size statue, standing on a granite pedestal nine feet high. Her head is adorned with a diamond. In her right hand is a roll—the manuscript of the founding of the orphanage there. Her earthly beauty and her heavenly piety, her sweet womanhood and her strong statesmanship make her one of the most remarkable persons in Reformed Church history. Like Abel, she being dead, yet speaketh, for she gained an earthly immortality through her hymn, as well as a heavenly immortality with her Savior. She wrote four hymns, which were published in Runge's hymn book in Berlin, 1653. We have mentioned "Jesus, meine Zuversicht;" the other hymns were, "Ein Anderer stelle sein Vertrauen," "Gott der Reichthum deiner Güte," "Ich will von meiner Missethat."*

But her greatest hymn was, "Jesus, meine Zuversicht." It was the key to her life—the expression of her confidence in God. She said on one occasion to Stosch and Spanheim, "If the Lord Jesus were still on earth, I would humble myself still more, yes, I would hang upon him like the Canaanitish woman. But what I cannot do in reality, I will do in spirit, in heart and in truest confidence." She often sang this hymn, especially at Easter.

* For this hymn see Appendix I.

A question has been raised about her authorship of the hymn. It has been said she was not able to write German sufficiently well to compose such a masterpiece in the German language. But although another hand, probably Von Schwerin (who was also a poet and hymn writer) may have polished it of its Hollandisms, yet the expression is hers. At any rate the hymn book published in her lifetime ascribes it to her, and Runge, the publisher of it, knew whether she wrote it. This would seem to be proof enough of her authorship.

This hymn became a favorite one in the royal family of Prussia. One of her successors, Queen Louisa, the good angel of Prussia at the beginning of this century and during the wars of Napoleon, was once standing before a picture of Electress Louisa Henrietta in the gallery of Charlottenburg, and said: "The charming hymn has received citizenship in our Church and in all our families. There is hidden in it a wonderful living strength. Whenever one hears it at dying-beds, in churches, at coffins and graves, there is always something new in the comfort and joy that it bears and gives. Only a child-like, believing heart like yours could have given such pure and beautiful utterance." And, after being silent for a while, she sat down at the piano and sang it. This hymn has become one of the great Easter hymns of the German Church. Not until a hundred years later, did Gellert's famous hymn appear, "Jesus lebt, mit ihm auch ich," ("Jesus lives, and so *do I*.")

Many beautiful illustrations are told in connection with this hymn. Frederick William IV. gave a bell at the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Orphanage at Oranienburg, September 27, 1850. He named the bell "Jesus, meine Zuversicht," and it has on it as an inscription, the first two lines of the hymn. At the dedication of the bell, the first two verses were sung. This hymn has laid hold of the hearts of the German people, and is especially used in times of need. After the unfortunate battle of Jena, 1806, where the Prussian army withdrew in an irregular flight across the river Saale, a trumpeter from Langenzsalza was cut off from his squadron and furiously pursued by the French cavalry. Although almost baited to death, the brave man would not surrender, but searched the banks of the river for a place to cross. He finally decided that swimming the river was his only hope. He soon came in his flight to one of those places where the bank changes into a perpendicular cliff, with the river rushing in giddy depths below. On the other side of the river the shore was flat and sandy. There was no time to choose, his pursuers were on his heels. Quick to decide, he looked up to God and prayed for grace, and then thrusting the spurs into the horse's side, he plunged into the rapid river. A loud cry of astonishment and horror rose from the lips of his pursuers, when they saw what he had done. They stopped on the edge of the rocks and watched him rising and sinking in

the flood. But the Lord had his strong arm round that Prussian. His brave horse was not dashed to pieces, and he finally reached the other side of the river. Without thinking of his further safety, his first thought was of God. He knelt down on the flat earth to thank the Lord for his wonderful deliverance, drew his trumpet from behind him and blew in trembling tones this hymn: "Jesus, meine Zuversicht." The enemy on the opposite bank, when they saw him land, had raised their carbines to shoot, but his actions in prayer and praise so impressed them that they involuntarily left their weapons drop. Unfortunately other French soldiers coming near fostered no such timidity. And when the trumpeter's clear note came to a close, a deadly shot sent his praying soul to the throne of praise.

In the years 1867 and 1868 a famine raged in eastern Prussia, and sick people were accustomed to sing this hymn in the streets as a prayer for help. A woman of Goldapp wrote: "I can no longer hear that hymn from these hungry people without tears coming from my eyes." It was sung by day, but it is fearful to hear it at evening in the arms of a howling storm. In the last war of 1870 this hymn was a great comfort to the soldiers. The music books of many bands contained only two sacred chorals, "Nun danket alle Gott," and "Jesus, meine Zuversicht."

A native of East Friesland, named Baumgarten, had a very heavy cross in having a drunken husband. She often sighed and prayed about it. One night her husband was not on military duty until 2 o'clock A. M. At 11 P. M. that night he sat in the tavern. She went to God, and then to the tavern where he was. She was at once summoned by his uproarious companions to aid their carousal. They demanded a song from her in vain. She begged to be allowed to go away. She finally agreed to sing, and she sang this hymn. When she was through, her husband went home with her, but seemed unusually quiet. That song had been an arrow to his heart. It happened that the conductor of his transport that night while he was on duty was a pious dragoon, who belonged to a total abstinence society. The dragoon also talked with him and so deeply impressed him that he was completely won to God and the right. Peter's exhortation in his first epistle (third chapter, first verse) was fulfilled, "Likewise ye wives be in subjection to your husbands, that if any obey not in word, they also may with the word be won by the conversation of the wives."

During the war between the Carlists and the republicans in Spain in 1874, the Carlist general Gamundi had captured a band of Sepayos (republican volunteers). No one wanted to grant them a pardon. As he could not take them with him, he gave orders that they should be shot. A priest was sent for to prepare them for death.

Now there happened to be with the Carlists a German officer, who was highly honored by them. When he heard that they were to be put to death, he wanted to take a walk, so that he need not see the terrible sight. But his path happened to take him past the prisoners. Here he saw how the priest blessed them. He also noticed a middle-aged man embracing a boy about 14 years old. An old man contemplated all this while he murmured his prayer. But stop; what is that? Is it a sound from Germany? The hymn rose from the mouth of one of the soldiers, "Jesus, meine Zuversicht." The officer could not tear himself away from that familiar song in a strange land. He hastened to the General, to beg for the life of his German countryman. The General underwent a hard struggle before he granted it, for the Sepayos had lately murdered his only son, a merchant. The German officer did not give up, but reminded him of his pain as a father, and how the sparing of that German would save another son from the grave, and save another father's heart. The General granted his request, and so the German was saved through the singing of this hymn.

When Ziegenbalg, the first of the missionaries to the East Indies from Germany, was dying, he called to his friends who stood around his bed and asked them to sing "Jesus, meine Zuversicht." As they sang it, it seemed to give him a look beyond the grave. And he said: "There is a light before my eyes as if the sun shone into

my face." His spirit rose to heaven on the wings of that hymn. "On the terrible night of March 18 and 19, 1848, when the German throne trembled in the throes of a revolution," says Professor Hengstenberg, "in the midst of firing of guns and the thunder of artillery over the wild tumult of the insurrection, the bells in the church tower played, 'Jesus, meine Zuversicht.'" It was a voice of comfort to many anxious hearts. Some days later, on March 22, it was again heard before the castle as 187 coffins of the fallen were guarded to the graves by 20,000 armed and unarmed citizens.

Thus the Electress Louisa Henrietta still lives in her hymn. It has immortalized her in Germany and in her beloved Reformed Church.

CHAPTER II.

THE REFUGEES IN BRANDENBURG.

SECTION I.

THE GREAT ELECTOR AND THE REFUGEES.

When King Louis XIV. of France drove the Huguenots out, the Great Elector, the great protector of the Reformed, "like a father gathered from all sides the flying children of his Church, and like a mother cared for them." There had been French churches in Germany before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685),* but they had existed as isolated churches.† But it was the larger immigration after 1685 that greatly increased them and led them to organize together. Of the 500,000 Huguenots

* For there were really four immigrations of the French Reformed into Germany. The first was about 1550, when the Duke of Alva so severely persecuted the Reformed in the Netherlands. The second was after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572. The third was after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and the fourth was about 1699, when many Huguenots and Waldenses came from Switzerland to Germany, because Switzerland was overcrowded with refugees.

† In the days of Calvin there were French churches at Strassburg, founded 1538, Wesel 1544, Emden 1554, Frankford on the Main 1554 (the result of the Duke of Alva's persecutions), Frankenthal 1561, Cleve 1568, Duisburg 1578, Bremen 1578, Hamburg 1578 (the result of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew). Other churches were founded at Metz, Aix la Chapelle, Cologne, Heidelberg, Hanau 1595, Annweiler 1595, Mannheim 1608, Cassel 1616, Bischweiler 1618, Zweibrücken, Mühlhausen 1661—twenty in all.

who fled from France, 200,000 went to Holland, 200,000 to Switzerland and 60,000 to Germany. One-third of these (20,000) came to Brandenburg. The richest of them went to England and Holland, and the poorer, but most progressive, to Brandenburg.

Hardly had King Louis XIV. issued his Edict of the Revocation (October 22, 1685), driving out the Huguenots, than seven days later (October 29) Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg issued his counter edict from Potsdam, inviting them to his land. The answer of Potsdam was the answer of Protestantism to Romanism, the answer of toleration to persecution. The Elector offered to make good to the refugees all they had lost. Did Louis deprive them of their homes and forfeit their lands, if they fled? He offered them land without taxes for ten years, and unoccupied houses at no rent. Did Louis forbid them from worshipping according to their Reformed faith, and raze their churches to the ground? He offered them freedom to worship such as they had had in France. Did Louis order their pastors out of the land within fourteen days, or they would be sent to the galleys, and if not, fined 50 louis d'ors a head? He gladly received their pastors, believing with the Huguenots, "the more pastors, the more blessing." He received thirty of their 600 pastors into the Mark on the day of the edict. Did Louis destroy the great cathedral of the Huguenots at Charenton, near Paris (a church holding 8000 people)? That

temple rose phoenix-like from its ashes in various places in Germany, as the refugees built temples modeled after it. Did Louis XIV. crush the Reformed church at Metz? It rose again at Berlin, where its pastor, Ancillon, became court preacher, and most of its members (1130) gathered around him. Did the Huguenots lose their rank of nobility by leaving France? He gave it back to them, for he granted them the same rank they had had in France. In a word, all they lost in France they would gain in Brandenburg; yes, more, for in France the court was against them, while in Brandenburg the royal house was their helper and friend.* The French government tried in every way to prevent the circulation of this edict through France, but the Great Elector had it printed in French, and it spread mysteriously, but very rapidly, through that land. This circular not only described the privileges he offered to them, but also the places where they could get information and financial aid, as Amsterdam, Hamburg, Cologne and Frankford. And the Great Elector not only gave them what he had promised, but raised large sums of money for them. It is true he did not raise as large a sum as should have been raised, but that was due to the indifference and opposition of many of his Lutheran sub-

* The Great Elector also defended the Reformed in other ways. As Louis had forbidden the Reformed from attending their own worship in France, some of them would attend the service of Spanheim, ambassador of Brandenburg, at Paris. This Louis forbade. But he found his match in Frederick William, who then forbade his Romish subjects from attending the worship of the French ambassador at Berlin.

jects. In four years he gathered 13,980 thalers, to which he added from his own treasury 15,200, altogether \$7270. He went so far as to say, "I must sell my silver vessels before these people suffer want or are sent away." It is said that their support for the first few years required over a ton of gold annually. To the Huguenots who settled at Magdeburg he presented an island in the Elbe, along with 26,252 crowns, a princely gift in view of the value of money then and the proverbial poverty of the Electors of Brandenburg.

Thus the Great Elector gave an asylum to the persecuted refugees. He found, however, that like Abraham he was entertaining angels unawares. "The edict was a master-piece of political sagacity, for it filled his land with the best people of Europe." And yet the Great Elector's motive was not a selfish aggrandizement. His aim was not to enrich himself and his state by their coming. For above the wisdom of the statesman shone the self-denial of the Christian. He issued this edict not out of policy, but of pity, for he did not expect, neither did the Huguenots, that Germany would become their permanent home. They expected that after the storm would be blown over, they would be allowed to return to France. This longing of the refugees for their native France was very pathetic. Although their land had cast them off, they loved it still. In their correspondence with friends in France they would call Germany "Babylon," the place of their exile, where,

like the Jews, they hung their harps on the willows and sighed for their native land.* The idea that they would have to remain permanently in Germany did not dawn on them until the beginning of the eighteenth century. But when the Peace of Ryswick (1697) and the succeeding Peace of Utrecht (1713) gave them no hope of returning to France, they began to settle down to their manifest destiny and remain in Germany. And yet all through the negotiations of the peace the Elector of Brandenburg (although it was to his interest to keep them) did everything he could that they might get back to their native land. But Louis XIV. sent a thunder-clap through the Huguenot world by declaring: "Nevermore. They must first renounce their Reformed faith, or they never return, and their wealth remains confiscated." So Elector Frederick III. of Brandenburg finally notified the French consistories in Brandenburg in 1698 that their return to France had been unconditionally refused, and issued a naturalization edict for them in 1709, by which they could become German citizens.

* Some touching illustrations of their expectation to return to France are given. A rich merchant from Chalons presented the Huguenot congregation at Halle with a silver dish and three cups worth 66 thalers. These were to be kept by the congregation at Halle *until the church at Chalons in France would be revived*, when they were to be sent to Chalons. Again at the Huguenot Synod at Wilhelmsdorf in Bavaria, 1690, a young minister, Durien, lately released from the galleys, was ordained. And although they had no charge in prospect for him in Germany, they nevertheless ordained him, expecting that soon a charge would open for him in France on their return.

Many very touching and beautiful stories are told of the reception of these French refugees by the Great Elector and his family. When they arrived at Berlin, the Elector honored them by receiving them in person, and not through deputies. When Ancillon, the aged pastor of Metz, came with his whole family, the Elector embraced him—an act unheard of at the French court, where the Huguenots were hated. The refugees were astonished at such a welcome. He named Ancillon his court preacher, and asked Ancillon's younger son what he expected to be. The six year old boy replied that he came from Geneva, where he had studied theology two years. But since he had heard that 600 ministers of France were driven out and were now without places, he felt like giving up the idea of becoming a minister and entering the army, provided the Elector was willing. Charmed by his naiveness, the Elector replied, "No, I will not agree." "Do you not see?" he said to the boy, "the gray hair of your father, he will soon need your help." Ancillon was so charmed by the amiability of the Elector that he compared him to another Constantine and to a new Theodosius, having "a King's soul with a Priest's spirit." His son, in his History of Brandenburg, compares the Elector to the heroes of Plutarch.

The arrival of the great French Marshal, Schomberg, is another illustration. The French ambassador at Berlin had declared to the Elector that these Huguenots were

a bad and troublesome set—simply adventurers seeking fortune somewhere else—and that France lost nothing by their departure. When Marshal Schomberg arrived, the Elector told him these charges against the Huguenots made by the French ambassador. And then to show his opinion of them, he appointed the Marshal the General-in-Chief of his army, with the rank next to the Princes of royal blood. The Elector delighted to have them come in companies of from six to thirty, and tell him the stories of their adventures and escapes. He strengthened them in their faith, kissed them, wept with them, prayed with them. He showed them many favors. The French students at the university of Frankford on the Oder pursued their studies at his expense. He threw open his library to them, that their learned men might continue their studies. He encouraged them in their various trades by financial aid. As a stimulus he gave one hundred thalers for the first pair of silk stockings made in his land, because that was a new industry.

But the Great Elector was only permitted to live three brief years after their coming (he died May 9, 1688), and was not able to carry out his large plans concerning them. At his death, after having blessed his own family, he then said to his son and successor: "I have still another family—an adopted one, but no less dearer than the one of which nature has made me father. It is the great family of the refugees." His son continued the policy of the

father and added five years' freedom from taxes to the ten granted by his father, and also issued the naturalization edict by which they could become German citizens. As the result of this immigration (including the later immigration of Waldenses at the close of the century) twenty thousand came into Brandenburg. There were fifty-nine colonies founded. Of these eleven still remain.* Thus in a land where there had been only three Reformed churches before, there were now added 20,000 Reformed and 59 churches. It may be said that the Elector founded an eastern Reformed Church in his realm (where before the Reformed Church had existed only as individuals or in small bodies.) He now had a large eastern Reformed Church in his territory, as he had a large western Reformed Church in his provinces along the Rhine.

* Angermunde, Bergholz, Bernau, Gross and Klein Ziethen, Königsburg, Magdeburg, Potsdam, Stettin, Strassburg in the Ukernark.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION II.

THE FRENCH REFORMED CHURCH OF BERLIN.

There had been a French colony in Berlin before 1685. Their first service had been held July 10, 1672. After the Revocation, the colony greatly increased, from three hundred to five thousand. The Elector, to accommodate them, gave them his cathedral where they held their first service, May 6, 1688. When the Werder and Friederichsstadt churches were built, they also held service in them. They had not yet built their own church, partly because of their poverty, and partly because they expected to return to France. But when that hope was taken away by the peace of Ryswick, they began to build a temple.* Their consistory was organized 1701. They employed Cayard, the architect, who built the Long Bridge over the Spree, at Berlin, and some of the Prussian fortresses, to build their church. It was modeled after the Reformed church at Charenton, near Paris, which Louis XIV. had razed to the ground on the day of the Revocation, only it was smaller. It was dedicated, March 1, 1705. It is called the French cathedral, because it was the church

* For in France, all Protestant churches were called temples, as they were not allowed by the Romish government to call them churches.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION III.

THE FRENCH REFORMED CHURCHES (THE CITY OF MAGDEBURG).

Next to Berlin, the most important colony was at Magdeburg. The awful "Sack of Magdeburg," in the Thirty Years' War, had reduced this flourishing city to ashes, except two churches and a few houses, and the population of 35,000 had gone down to 1,100. Although half a century had passed, the city had not yet recovered from this.* Here then was ample room for many refugees. And so the Elector thought, but difficulties arose. The town since the days of the Reformation had been the citadel of high Lutheranism. Its inhabitants therefore did not want any Reformed among them, because they considered them as heretics. Here the Formula of Concord had been written which condemned the doctrines of the Reformed. But in spite of these prejudices, even before the Huguenots came, there had been a German Reformed church organized October 26, 1666, at the house of the commander of the fort, whose wife was an Anhalt princess, who brought her Reformed minister, Duncker, with her. But when

* In 1631 the plague came and carried off one-third of the inhabitants, and in 1633 there were 113 empty houses, together with 434 houses in ruins. In 1686 the population was only 5,155. To have restored the city to its former magnificence, it would have required 30,000 Huguenots.

the commandant royal fact went away on account of the plague, he took his Reformed minister away with him. Still there remained a congregation of about 60, most of them soldiers. They were accustomed to worship in pleasant weather, in the windowless, floorless, doorless Gangolphs chapel. In 1681, Thulemeyer, one of the Elector's court preachers, was appointed to be pastor. This German organization was afterwards greatly increased by the Palatines, who came to Magdeburg in 1701.

The French Reformed congregation was founded by the refugees. On the third day of Christmas, 1685, a strange and sad sight was seen in the streets of Magdeburg. Fifty Frenchmen, half naked and cold, came wandering through the streets, and were ridiculed by the inhabitants, who hated them because they were Calvinists. Then the refugees began passing through in companies singing their Psalms. They would often stop to rest there, and while stopping would gather around one of their number, who would read the Bible to them. They would then fall on their knees in prayer—a very strange sight to the inhabitants of North Germany, who looked on kneeling in prayer as a relic of Romanism.*

The Elector immediately after the edict of Potsdam sent to Magdeburg inquiring how many houses were available. But he received no answer from the Lutheran

* In the French Reformed Church, kneeling was the usual attitude in prayer.

inhabitants, who did not want the Reformed there. He then asked what churches could be used by the Reformed. The only reply he received was, that all the churches not in use were too ruined to be used. The Elector then sharpened his demands on them, February 23, 1686, but still no answer came. Meanwhile the refugees began arriving in response to the Elector's invitation, and in passing through Magdeburg (15,000 of them passed through Magdeburg on their way to Berlin), many of them stopped and settled there. In order to provide them with a place of worship, the Elector wanted the unused Gertrude chapel to be given to them. It had been used as a hospital during the plague, and was still called the Asses church by the inhabitants. But although the Lutheran inhabitants had no use for it, they objected; and to entirely prevent the Reformed from using it, the church of St. John the Evangelist, as patron of the hospital, claimed it as their property, which the Elector could not legally separate from them. There were at least nine empty churches there, but it seemed as if not one of them was to be used by the Reformed. There was plenty of room in the town for them, but not in the hearts of the citizens. But the Elector went ahead. He appointed Du Cros pastor of the French church, and the first service was held, June 27, 1686. After waiting till November 7, 1686, for the town to give the Reformed a church, which was not in use, he ordered the Gertrude chapel to be

given to them, until the Magdalene chapel could be fitted up for them. There they worshipped 30 years. In this unhealthy chapel, which had been a plague hospital, and had not been thoroughly disinfected, they worshipped. And as the Lutherans would not allow them to bury their dead in the town cemetery, they had to bury in the floor of the church.* No wonder that there was great mortality among the refugees there. The corner-stone of their church was laid August 6, 1705. Like the temples at Erlangen and Halberstadt, it was patterned after the eight-cornered church at Montauban, France.† It was dedicated 1710, the most beautiful church in the town. It was burned 1804, and rebuilt much smaller, but after the same style.

In 1689 there came a remarkable colony to Magdeburg. The refugees generally came singly or in groups of families. But here a whole congregation as an organization came, bringing minister, elders, singer, doctor, everything. They came from Manheim in the Palatinate, whither their ancestors had fled in the previous century from the persecutions of the Duke of Alva, in the Netherlands. And now that the Palatinate was ravaged by French armies, rather than give up the faith for which their fathers had fled, they too determined to flee to a safer asylum. They

* Ten years later they succeeded in getting a graveyard of their own.

† The pulpit was on one side, with the communion table (no altar) in the middle in front of it, and its benches were arranged in four sections, so that all could see the pulpit.

held their last service in Manheim, March 6, 1689. It was high time they left, for two days later the French were in the town destroying everything, until nothing was left but the stones on which the town was built. The refugees went to Hanau and Frankford. And hearing that the Elector of Brandenburg was so favorable to the refugees, they sent a delegation to him. He granted their request for an asylum, and by the beginning of July, 1689, the greater part of the congregation had arrived. The Lutheran inhabitants of Magdeburg looked with increasing anxiety on this new colony of Reformed, and struggled against giving them a church, although so many churches were not used. These Walloons held their first service January 31, 1689. The Augustinian church (their present church) was given to them December 2, 1694. Thus three Reformed churches were founded in Magdeburg—a German, French and Walloon. To the 5155 Lutheran inhabitants of the town there were added 1500 Huguenots, 2000 Walloons and 400 Palatines, a total of about 4000, so they almost equalled the original Lutheran population. It seems a strange revenge of history that in the very city from one of whose cloisters had been issued the Formula of Concord, which condemned the teachings of the Reformed, these refugees were to find a refuge and build powerful churches. They built up whole districts of the town, as Peter Street and the French Island.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION IV.

THE FRENCH CHURCH OF HALLE.

This colony was not as large as the preceding ones, but was important because of its influence and wealth. There is a strange revenge of history about their coming here, as there was at Magdeburg. It is significant that at Halle, where Elector John Sigismund of Brandenburg had taken his oath never to leave the Lutheran faith, and where his father's court preacher, called the Reformed "Mamelukes," there should be founded a colony of French Reformed. And it is still more significant that in the very building, the Moritzburg, where John Sigismund had taken his oath against the Reformed, the French Reformed should find their first place of worship. Almost as soon as Halle came into the hands of the Elector of Brandenburg, he introduced Reformed services in German there. Bergius, the Reformed court preacher, preached there whenever the Elector was in Halle. The French service began with the coming of the refugees. After the Revocation, the Elector sent to Halle to find out how many houses were vacant, how many boarding places could be obtained, and whether the Huguenots could have the use of a church. But these requests were very

coolly received by that Lutheran city, which did not want a Reformed colony in their midst.

The refugees began coming in 1686. In the Moritzburg castle (which had been largely destroyed during the Thirty Years' War) there was a house between the ruins used as a hunting castle. Here they held their first service November 14, 1686, under pastor Vimielle. They were the first of all the refugee churches in Brandenburg to celebrate their communion, December 26. Until the Magdalene chapel in the Moritzburg could be restored, the Elector threw open to them the cathedral May 29, 1688.* They worshipped there for two years until October 26, 1690, when the Magdalene chapel was ready for them. But the inhabitants of Halle treated them very unkindly. At Easter, 1687, when their rents for lodgings ran out, the owners declared that they would not rent any more to them. They thus hoped to get rid of the refugees. The French women, children and servants, were sometimes insulted on the streets. Rotten fruit was thrown at them when they went to market, and stones sometimes thrown through the windows of their homes. The Elector hearing of these things, issued a severe edict September 3, 1689, stating that if the inhabitants had any complaints against the foreigners, they must bring charges

* They used this in common with the German Reformed and Lutherans. The hours of Sabbath service were parcelled out thus: The French, 7 to 9 A. M.; German Reformed, 9 to 11 A. M.; Lutherans, 3 to 4 P. M.; French, 4 to 6 P. M.

before the courts, but these brutalities must cease. The people also annoyed the French at their religious services. As the French had to go through the two front rooms in the Moritzburg, so as to reach the Magdalene chapel, the Germans placed beer in those rooms. And on Sunday morning, contrary to the Elector's order, they smoked tobacco, rolled ten pins and had music, which greatly disturbed the devotions of the French. In 1695 there appeared a catechism purporting to be Reformed, but which was in reality a caricature. It was composed of insidious, extravagant questions, to which were given answers made up of mutilated extracts from Reformed writers. It grossly misrepresented the Reformed doctrines. The Elector issued an edict against that catechism in 1695, and fined those in whose hands it was to be found; yes (after the custom of the time) he even burned it at the gallows in Halle, and Coelln at Berlin.*

This colony of the Reformed becomes all the more interesting because it laid the foundations of the University of Halle. That university was the outgrowth of the French Knights Academy, founded there by DeFleur in 1680.

* The German Reformed church of Halle was founded April, 1688, with Reith, from Frankenthal in the Palatinate, as pastor. There he had been thrown into prison for preaching on the eightieth answer of the Heidelberg Catechism. He was then permitted to leave prison, but had a body guard of three soldiers continually with him. Finally he was dismissed from the land. The tale of his sufferings touched the Elector who appointed him pastor at Halle. His appointment was the last act of the Great Elector before he died. This congregation grew very fast through the large immigration of Palatines from their persecuted land during the years 1688-93.

It soon had an attendance that put even the universities to shame. Thus Duisburg had only 24 students in 1703, while this academy had 700. When Elector Frederick III. gave the Lutheran Pietists a home in his land after they were driven out of Saxony, he determined to found a university for them. He therefore dissolved the French Academy of La Fleur, and founded the university in 1694, which, although a Lutheran university, had 31 endowed scholarships for Reformed students. The French pastor, Augier, was one of the first professors at the university. The King went farther than that, and appointed a Reformed professor of theology, who was not only a teacher in the gymnasium, but a professor in the university. This led to bickering, as the Lutheran faculty did not want a Reformed professor of theology recognized in their lists. Still there were two Reformed professors of theology here from 1710 to 1804, when Schleiermacher was the last. Meanwhile the French congregation decreased, while the German increased. And when Jerome Napoleon came, he united the two congregations, June 9, 1800, in the cathedral, while the old French church he used as a stable for his army.

While describing Halle we must not forget to describe a branch of that congregation, although in Saxony. Even bigoted Saxony, which had imprisoned Pencer for twelve years at Leipsic and then driven him out, and had afterwards beheaded Chancellor Crell, because they were suspected

of being secret Calvinists, was now destined to receive Calvinists, in spite of the opposition to them from the Lutheran inhabitants. For fifty years it remained closed to them. But during the Thirty Years' War a Reformed communion had been celebrated at Leipsic. - The Swedish Colonel, Douglass, had the superintendent of the Anhalt Reformed church come to Leipsic and hold a series of services, and then administer the communion to him and the Reformed soldiers in the army. Afterwards the Reformed Countess of Anhalt would occasionally have private Reformed service when she was staying there. But it was not until a half century later, when the French came, that a congregation was organized. Leipsic had become famous for its fairs and markets, and the French of Halle soon came to Leipsic with their goods and wares. As they were not allowed to hold service at Leipsic, they would keep up their membership at Halle, by attending the communion. The law of Saxony had prohibited any religion but the Lutheran. But an unexpected event aided the Reformed. The King of Saxony became a Romanist, and in his anxiety to gain religious liberty for the Romanists, he with his chancellor, Beichlingen, befriended the Reformed. They began their services in 1702, in the private house of the banker Le Clerc. But on November 5 they were allowed by the government to have their service in the court house, for which however they were

compelled to pay an enormous rent.* The Reformed on the other hand tried in every way to lessen the prejudices against them. They observed the Centennial of Luther in 1617, raised collections for the poor of Leipsic, also funds for the first Lutheran church in the Palatinate. Still the inhabitants looked on them with a suspicious eye, especially as many of the students of the university would attend French service, and it became quite fashionable for Germans to go to the French church. When the ministry of Beichlingen was overthrown, they were forbidden to hold service in the city. They then went to a suburb, Volkmarisdorf, east of the town. But this was too far away. They were finally allowed by the edict of the King to go back to the court house again. Their first service in their own church building was held in 1719. The German Reformed people in the town joined with them, and a German service was held for them. The latter congregation afterwards became famous through the eloquence of Zollikofer, the famous pulpit orator of the last century in Germany.

* This was located near the St. Thomas' church, and some of their enemies charged Beichlingen with permitting "a fool's theatre there."

CHAPTER III.

FRENCH REFORMED IN OTHER PARTS OF GERMANY.

Brandenburg was not the only state that received the Reformed refugees. Two-thirds of those who settled in Germany, settled in other states. The Reformed Princes and cities gladly welcomed their persecuted brethren in the faith. And even some Lutheran Princes, influenced by Reformed relatives, received Huguenot colonies into their dominions, sometimes even against the wishes of their Lutheran ministers and people.

SECTION I.

HESSE-CASSEL.

Next to Brandenburg the most important colony was the Hessian, where in all twenty thousand settled. Three of the Hessian Princes offered them an asylum—the Landgraves of Cassel, Homburg and Darmstadt. Landgrave Charles of Hesse-Cassel was one of the keenest statesmen of his age. He it was who brought Cassel up to its highest point of military glory.* With the eye of a statesman

* This military tendency continued until the Seven Years' War, when Landgrave Frederick II. brought its army up to 20,000 men. When that war was over, as he did not know what to do with his splendid soldiers, trained under Frederick the Great, he began farming them out to other lands. And

he saw the advantage of receiving such excellent citizens as the Huguenots. He even outdid the Elector of Brandenburg. For six months before the latter issued his famous Edict of Potsdam, he issued, April 18, 1685, an edict inviting all refugees to his land, offering them freedom from taxes for ten years. He was the first German Prince to do this, and soon the refugees began to come. On the 28th of October (the day before the Elector of Brandenburg issued his edict) the first French service was held at Cassel. The Landgrave renewed his edict, December 12, 1685, and the number of refugees increased until 6000 had arrived, of whom 150 were of noble birth. After the Peace of Ryswick closed France against their return, 14,000 more came, including some Waldenses. Thirty colonies were formed outside of Cassel. The refugees at Cassel built up the new part of the city and there laid the corner-stone of their church, August 3, 1698, which was finished February 12, 1710.†

The beautiful city of Cassel owes much of its present beauty to the refugees. For among them was a famous architect, John Paul Du Roy. His experiences are typical of the sufferings of many. His father had been archi-

thus the shameful hiring of the Hessians during the Revolutionary War came to pass, when 16,992 Hessians were sent to America, of whom 10,492 returned to Hesse. But Landgrave Charles must not be held responsible for the misdoings of his Romish successor.

† It is still located in the small Carl Square, in which is a statue of the Landgrave Charles. Since the walls of the old city have been taken down, the old and new city have been thrown into one.

fect to the King of France. After the revocation, his mother, a widow, tried to flee with her twelve children. Ten of them succeeded in escaping to foreign lands safely, but his mother and the two daughters were captured and cast into prison—the oldest daughter was cast into the prison of Montreuil, where she escaped further indignities by becoming a Romanist; the younger daughter was cast into a damp prison, from which she became deaf, but she resisted all attempts to pervert her to the Romish faith. Finally they were all liberated and went to the rest of the family in Holland. John Paul Du Roy had been a soldier in the Dutch army, and fled to Holland after the Revocation. But Landgrave Charles asked William of Orange to send him a fine architect, and so Roy was sent to Cassel, arriving there October 1, 1685. He built the new city of Cassel, the Orangerie, the Auegarden and the fort at Rheinfels, and laid out and built the French colonies of Carlsdorf and Mariendorf. After his death his son Charles kept up the fame of the family for architecture. He completed the new city of Cassel, the picture gallery, the great glass house in the Orangerie, and also began the castle at Wilhelmsthal by erecting its wing. He married a lady named Anna Girard, whose father had died in the flight from France, and her mother with the children were imprisoned. From the prison the children were taken to a cloister. There the nuns used to take the children out walking daily. One day, as they were pass-

ing a pastry-baker's shop, he asked the nuns that they might be brought in. Then he took off their shoes and stockings. He turned to his wife, saying, "See how our priests deceive us. They say that the Huguenot children have horse's feet, but these have feet like ours." The children were afterwards permitted to leave France, and Anna went to Cassel. After Charles Du Roy's death, his son Simon still kept up the fame of the family. He built the Koch pavilion in the Orangerie, the museum and the colonnade in the Parade place, the French hospital and the city hall, the Carls aue or Aue. The beautiful park of Cassel was laid out by La Notre, the French landscape gardener, in 1719. The marble bath in the Orangerie was erected, 1728, by Monnot, the French sculptor. Landgrave Charles began to lay out the beautiful park of Wilhelmshehe, so famous for its beauty.

But even more interesting, though not so large, was the colony near Homburg, a few miles north of Frankford on the Main. The Landgrave of Hesse Homburg, Frederick II. (he "of the silver leg," having lost it through a wound in the battle of Copenhagen), received two colonies at Frederichsdorf and Dornholzhausen. They became unique colonies, for they are philological curiosities. Although more than 200 years have passed since they were founded, yet they are still French, although surrounded by Germans—a French island in the German ocean. Frederichsdorf has to-day its French church,

school and mayor. The reason why they have remained French so long has been, because the Landgrave, in 1731, forbade any Germans from intermarrying with them, or living in the town. And to make their condition still more remarkable, they speak not the French of to-day, but the French of the time of their immigration—the French of two centuries ago—because communication with their fatherland was cut off. While the French language changed and improved in course of time, theirs did not. Nowhere in France to-day is there to be found a place where the French of the time of Louis XIV. is spoken. The philologist must go to Germany to hear it at Frederichsdorf. The town still contains about 800 inhabitants, but since it has come under the control of Prussia, the German language is slowly creeping in.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION II.

ERLANGEN AND NEIGHBORING COLONIES.

Margrave Christian Ernst of Brandenburg-Baireuth, in Southern Germany, was a Lutheran. Yet, influenced by his near relative and former guardian, the Elector of Brandenburg, he issued an edict, December, 1685, (although his Lutheran consistory bitterly opposed it), offering an asylum to the Huguenots, with freedom from taxes for fifteen years, and also freedom for their Reformed worship. The village of Erlangen had been so terribly devastated by the Thirty Years' War, that for five years it was an uninhabitable heap of ruins. In 1685 it had only 500 inhabitants. So the Margrave assigned the Huguenots to that place, hoping they would rebuild it. In this his expectations were more than realized. For the French colony built the new part of the city, which they named Christian Erlangen, after the Margrave. The first refugees arrived on May 17, 1686, and within two years 1600 had arrived. They at once had worship, for that was the first thing a Huguenot thought of. They at once began to lay out the new city of Erlangen, and the first building was the corner-stone of their church, laid July 14, 1686. At 3 P. M., with

the pastor, Papon, they went to the new city, where all fell on their knees on the ground, as they thanked God for His grace in saving them through the persecutions. Many of his congregation were melted to tears. This church was dedicated in the presence of the Margrave and his wife, February 26, 1693. It was modeled after the church at Montauban, France. But although the Margrave thus welcomed the refugees, his people did not. There were two reasons for this—the first was the forced quartering of the refugees on the inhabitants. Quartering at best is not pleasant, and was even dangerous to health, for sometimes from six to twenty were quartered in a single family. The inhabitants charged the French with not being cleanly—that they polluted the springs and were careless about fire. This latter charge may have had some truth in it, for in southern France, from which most of the refugees came, they were accustomed to stone houses, and were not so careful about fire as the people of Erlangen, who lived in wooden houses. But back of all this there was a second reason. The inhabitants were Lutherans, and they did not want the Reformed there, especially as very soon the Reformed outnumbered them. This led to religious friction. The Margrave, when he invited them to come, promised them liberty to have Reformed worship, but on December 9, 1686, he issued a decree, in which they were requested to conform to the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession, and promise not to teach anything against it, and never to call a pastor who

would not agree to it as approved by the French Synod of Charenton, 1631, and subscribed to by Calvin. This produced dissension in the colony, which broke out July, 1787, and lasted seven months. Some of the pastors signed it. Others in the colony refused and attacked the pastors for doing so. Finally the colony held a mass meeting and determined to leave Erlangen, rather than give up their Reformed faith. They had left France for conscience's sake; they could now leave Erlangen also. It began to look as if the colony, which had been the Margrave's pride, would come to naught. He finally recalled his demand for them to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession and to become Lutherans. But his decision came too late to prevent about two hundred of the colony from leaving, who went to Holland and Brandenburg.

The controversy, however, had one good effect. It led to the calling of a Reformed Synod, to which the whole matter was referred, for there were a few Reformed congregations in that neighborhood, in Southern Germany, who came together to a synod at Erlangen, February 24, 1688. The Synod was composed of the French Reformed churches of Erlangen, Wilhelmsdorf, Neustadt on the Aisch, Baireuth, Schwabach, and Nuremberg or Stein. Some of these churches are interesting. Among these, the Reformed church at Nuremberg is the most interesting. It is the oldest Reformed church in Southern Germany. As far back as the Reformation, the Reformed Church

had adherents there. Albert Dürer, the celebrated painter, was an adherent of Zwingli. Between the years 1568-73 many refugees came from the persecutions of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands. They soon noticed the difference between the ritualistic services of the Lutherans and their plain Reformed service in Holland. They were especially scandalized by the use of exorcism at baptism. They therefore desired that when their children were baptized, exorcism should be left out. This led to a controversy between the Lutheran ministers of the place. But their request was finally refused. At first they had their children baptized at Neumarkt, in the Upper Palatinate, which was under a Reformed Prince. After that was lost to the Palatinate, they went to Heroldsburg, about six miles away, which belonged to the noble family of Gender of Rabenstein. The authorities of Nuremberg took severe measures against the Reformed, even denying them Christian burial. Holland, Prussia and the Palatinate interceded for them, but in vain. In 1661 the Margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach, through the intercession of the Elector of Brandenburg, gave them permission to build a church in the village of Stein, four and a half miles from Nuremberg. Here they worshipped for 43 years. During that time the painter and electoral councillor, Sandrart, was a prominent member. But the wars finally made it dangerous to go even to Stein. So through the the intercession of Holland and Prussia, they were allowed temporarily to hold private Reformed services in Nurem-

berg, 1706, in the garden house of a wealthy member, named Polhem. They were then granted the privilege of having a church in the town, but it was required, as in many other Lutheran cities, as Frankford and Hamburg, to have no bells or tower, and not to have the outward appearance of a church, while all baptisms and marriages and funerals were to be held by the Lutheran ministers. When Nuremberg came under the Bavarian government in 1809, the St. Martha's church (near the railroad station—an interesting church, having been used by the Meister singers for a time) was given to them.

But the special significance of this church at Erlangen lies in the fact, that, just as at Halle, this French colony prepared the way for the founding of a university. In July 27, 1696, a Knight's Academy was opened. This Knight's Academy was changed by the Margrave into a university in 1743. When the Margrave built his castle at Erlangen, in 1703, the Reformed placed there a fountain, which represented a mountain on which was the Margrave surrounded by Tritons, and 45 life-like statues of members of the French colony. This fountain is there to-day, as the perpetual witness to the Margrave's kindness in giving them an asylum.*

* Owing to the persecutions in the Palatinate, a number of Germans came there who worshipped at first with the French in their church. But one of the Germans left a legacy in 1697 of 1,000 florins, provided he be buried in the church. This the French opposed bitterly, because such a thing was unheard of in the Huguenot churches in France, although nothing unusual in Germany. So the German Reformed built a church of their own, and there are now two Reformed churches at Erlangen, a French and German.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION III.

WURTEMBERG.

The Duke of Wurtemberg, although a Lutheran, also received Reformed colonists in the Waldenses. (For the Waldenses had joined the Reformed Church in 1532, under the influence of Ecolampadius). When the Duke of Savoy drove the Waldenses out of Italy in 1698, three thousand of them fled to Switzerland, and from that land they emigrated to other Protestant lands. The Duke of Wurtemberg had great need of them, for his land had been so fearfully devastated by the Thirty Years' War, that only one-fourth of his population remained after the war. As Switzerland was overcrowded with refugees, the Swiss authorities asked him to take some of the refugees. The negotiations hung fire for several years. In October, 1693, three Waldensian deputies, one of whom was Henri Arnaud, the famous warrior preacher, came to Stuttgart, asking the Duke to allow them to settle in Wurtemberg. Fortunately the authorities confused them with the Bohemian brethren, and concluded that they were not really Reformed. So two thousand of them were admitted. The edict of the Duke gave them freedom from taxes for ten years, and also freedom to have their own mode of

worship, as well as permission to hold Synods. Some of the Waldenses settled near the old abbey of Maulbronn. It is an interesting coincidence that this old abbey, where Ursinus and Olevianus took part in a conference in 1564 with the Lutherans, should now receive Reformed inhabitants in its neighborhood.* The first Synod of these Waldensian churches was held at Durmenz, September 12, 1701. It included all the Waldensian colonies in Wurtemberg, to which was added the Reformed church at Cannstadt, which was not Waldensian, but composed of French refugees.†

The most interesting character in this colony of Waldenses was Henri Arnaud, one of the finest statesmen and generals the Reformed ever had—"a soldier of the cross." He was born at La Tour in Italy, the capital of the Waldensian valleys in 1641, educated in theology at Basle, where the university had an endowment for the Waldensian students. He then went to Holland, where under the Dutch government he learned the art of war.

* Nine parishes were formed, many of them named after their former villages in their Italian valleys. Villars, Durmenz (of which Schonenburg was a branch), Pinache and Luzerne were located near Maulbronn, while Nordhausen, Perouse, Palmbach, Neuhengstett were near each other, but some distance from Maulbronn.

† This church of Cannstadt was afterwards united with the Reformed church of Stuttgart, formed of Huguenots in 1749. There was also a Reformed church formed at Ludwigsburg, for which a large amount of money was raised in foreign lands. With this they built a church, but were never allowed to use it by the Lutheran government. In spite of the protests of the Reformed, the government turned it into a garrison church, 1781. It was "a church robbery," as Zahn calls it.

He returned to the Waldensian valleys in 1670, and entered the pastorate. He knew not why he was thus led to mingle the art of war with the ministry of peace, but God knew. He was preparing Arnaud to save the Waldenses from destruction. In 1686 hundreds of the Waldenses fled over the Mont Cenis Pass, amid snows and storms, from the persecutions of the Duke of Savoy. Arnaud, after making a brave defense at Germano, also fled. But in a year or two political affairs changed. The Duke of Savoy, who had persecuted them to please the King of France, now broke with France, and became her enemy. Matters looked more hopeful. Like the Swiss' home-sickness for their native Alps, these Waldensians (Italian Swiss) sighed for their valleys. This led to the "Glorious Return," which was led by Arnaud. Those who had determined to go back to Italy, met secretly, Augutt 16, 1689, in a large wood at Prangins.* They then crossed the lake, and, 900 strong, entered the dominions of the Duke of Savoy. Untold difficulties hindered them, but they marched over the frozen Alps of Mont Blanc and Mont Cenis, over glaciers and amid avalanches, along steep defiles, and often hanging over precipices (as great a march as ever Napoleon made over the Alps). Suddenly, like a thunderbolt from the skies, they fell on the French garrison, that endeavored

* Now a Moravian school, west of Lake Geneva, between Rolle and Nyon.

te stop their way into the valleys, and defeated them. On the ninth day they arrived at their valleys. Just as Xenophon's ten thousand Greeks cried out when they saw the sea, "the sea, the sea," so these Waldenses thanked God that they were again in their old valleys. On the 28th of August they held their first service in an old ruined chapel, when Arnaud, minister as well as general, preached a sermon on Psalm 129, verses one and two: "Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth, yet they have not prevailed against me." During the winter that followed they would have starved to death, had not Providence provided for them. A sudden thaw removed, in one night, a mass of snow from the fields, where they discovered a considerable quantity of wheat (standing in the earth, ready for the sickle) that had been suddenly covered with snow. On this they lived till spring. During the winter they had entrenched themselves in an almost impregnable mountain, the Balsille. In the spring an army of 22,000 attacked them. They were less than 1,000 against over 20,000. They defended themselves bravely, but when the final assault on them was made, they determined to die, rather than surrender. That night, by an inaccessible path, by literally hanging over precipices, they escaped. It was an amazing exploit, that utterly confounded their enemies. Thus they gained their valleys again. But when in 1698 persecu-

tion came again, Arnaud went with them to Wurtemberg, and settled at Schonenburg. He became pastor of the Waldensian church at Durmenz for twenty years. He had offers of military service in England, yet on account of his increasing age and his love for the Waldenses, he preferred this quiet country parish. He wrote his famous chronicles of the Glorious Return in 1710. He was president of the Wurtemberg Reformed Synod, 1708. He died at Schonenburg, September 8, 1721.* Thus the Reformed Church of Germany numbered among her pastors the bravest of the Waldenses.

In addition to Arnaud, there should also be mentioned three Reformed princesses, who graced the throne of Wurtemberg. Although the ruling house there was Lutheran, that did not prevent them from marrying Reformed Princesses. The son of the Duke who invited the Waldenses, married a Reformed Princess, Maria Henrietta of Brandenburg Schwedt, who had as her court preacher at Stuttgart the saintly Du Saint Aubon. Duke Frederick Eugene, a field marshal of Frederick the Great, married Princess Dorothea Sophia, also of Brandenburg Schwedt. She became regent of Wurtemberg in 1795, during his sickness, so that Lutheran Wurtemberg was ruled by a Reformed Princess for a brief period. The second son of the last named Princess also married Princess Henrietta

* The Reformed church at that place was torn down in 1803, and a new and beautiful church built on the old site. It is said that he is buried under the communion table.

of Nassau Weilburg, in 1797. She was a great friend of the Pietists, and a member of the Reformed church at Stuttgart. When the union of 1817 was introduced into Wurtemberg, these Waldensian churches, which had given up the French language for the German, were absorbed, so that the only Reformed church there now is the Reformed church of Cannstadt-Stuttgart.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION I.

THE PECULIARITIES OF THE HUGUENOTS AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE GERMANS.

So large an immigration could not fail to leave its impression on Germany. It was virtually the founding of a new nation, 60,000 strong in the heart of Germany. Some idea of their influence can be had, when one remembers that there are in Germany now, according to Tollin, more than a million who have Huguenot blood in their veins. Many of their congregations have passed away or have become *German Reformed* since then. But French is still used in the churches at Frankford on the Main, Hanau, Frederichsdorf, Dornholzhausen and Berlin. And though many of the churches have lapsed or become German, yet the influence of this French immigration remains. In very many ways they have left their impress on Germany, far beyond what was to be expected from their numbers. For they were a very superior people. We will notice the peculiarities of the Huguenots, some of which they stamped on the German people. There are certain marked characteristics of the Huguenot which must be noted, so as to measure their influence. They not merely influenced Germany by their numbers, but by

their dispositions ; that is, they added certain important elements for the development of German character.

The first was their *industry* and *economy*. They at once began to build up trades, and many became wealthy. Although during the first 15 or 20 years they cost more than they produced, yet they soon proved to be very profitable financially to the Princes who gave them refuge. They made the waste places blossom as the rose. They built suburbs of cities, as Stendal and Moabit, and other districts in Berlin. They even founded new cities as New Cassel, Christian Erlangen, New Isenberg and others, besides building many villages in Wurtemberg, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Homburg, Schwartzwald, Brandenburg, Brandenburg-Baireuth, etc. They brought prosperity by planting new industries. French industries bloomed in Germany. The famous Gobelin tapestries were made in Berlin and adorned the palace. Thus they introduced silk and linen weaving, the weaving of woolen stockings, hat and glove making. They founded tan yards, were raisers of tobacco, smiths, cutlers and jewelers, in all of which trades they excelled. They made looking glasses better than those of Venice, and by their knowledge of mining and metallurgy diverted the copper trade from Sweden, and the iron trade from France. As an illustration of the prosperity they brought, it is said that the town of Christian Erlangen, which before had yielded no revenue, had by 1695 an annual sale of wares amounting to

200,000 florins, equal to 500,000 florins now. They thus proved a blessing to Germany, and impressed on her lessons of industry and economy, which prepared her for her later prominence and prosperity. They laid the foundations for the united Germany of to-day by their military ability, commercial success and financial economy.

Their influence on scholarship was as great as on manufactures. We do not mean to say that Germany had no scholars before they came, for she was an intelligent nation. And yet Mr. Pool says: "The society of Berlin was the creation of the exiles, and it was the Reformed who gave to it the mobile course of thought, that finer culture, that tact in matters of art, that instinct of cultivation which had before been the unique possession of the French. They diffused their own spirit, quick, fine, lucid, the spirit of French vivacity and precision." They aided in the formation of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin. Many of them were famous for learning and eloquence, as Ancillon, Beausobre, Lenfant and Basnage, and became leaders in the Academy of Sciences at Berlin. There were many intelligent men among them, scholars, artists and others, who amply repaid the kindness of those who received them.

A second peculiarity was their *uprightness* and *moral-ity*. The answer, "I am a refugee," was a guarantee to purity of character. Many stories of their sincerity and uprightness have been told. Thus a member of the

Huguenot church at Frankford on the Oder, named Colas, was elected elder, but did not appear at the time of ordination. He was summoned to appear before the congregation to explain his absence. The next Sunday he came and confessed his secret guilt. He said that unknown to any one there, he had in France, when threatened by the dragoons, promised to renounce his Reformed faith, but he had never gone to mass. Eight days after, he gave up his home there, bitterly bewailing his renunciation of the Reformed faith. He went to Maestrecht in the Netherlands, where, before a Reformed pastor, he had made a solemn recall of his recantation of Protestantism. He had thus made repentance, but his heart was still not at rest. Publicly he had left his faith, publicly he felt he must confess his sin. And now he publicly confessed it before the church at Frankford, which had elected him elder. The Presbyterium of that church received his confession and repentance, and restored him publicly to the church. Such integrity as this did not fail to impress the royal family of Prussia. The Elector one day surprised his wife in the act of giving the crown jewels into the hands of a stranger. In astonishment he asked her who the man was. She replied, "I do not know his name, but I know he is a Huguenot." That was enough. "A Huguenot's word was as good as a bond." In Frederichsdorf there has not been in the history of that church during two centuries a single illegitimate birth. The coming of such a high

grade of citizens could not but elevate the tone of the morality very much. They proved a great blessing morally to Germany.

Another peculiarity was their *benevolence* and *liberality*. They had been taught self-denial by their persecutions, and they were liberal givers to the Lord. It is said that at every communion the Huguenot gave his mite, and even the poor would make that mite of silver or gold. They founded hospitals and orphanages for their French congregations. No Frenchman ever needed to beg. In some of their congregations the consistory bought beds and mattresses, which they would loan out to the poor during the winter, so that they might not suffer. The annual offerings at the door of the church at Halle were 300 thalers. It became customary for them to leave legacies to the poor. These legacies in the course of centuries have accumulated to large amounts, so that some of the French churches are richly endowed, though small in numbers. But it was especially for their suffering brethren of the faith that they raised funds. They contributed for the Waldensians, for the Lutherans of Salzburg, for their persecuted brethren who remained in France, and for those who were galley slaves at Marseilles, or the African coast. (It is said that the number of Huguenots who perished in wars, galley prisons and executions was 200,000.) When the report came that the pirates of Algiers had captured some of their ministers as

galley slaves in 1688, they raised large sums of money. The church at Berlin contributed to that fund 1,000 thalers. They also made personal gifts to the poor. Thus a merchant named Escher at Leipsic presented a two-story house to the congregation at Halle for a hospital. Thus in many ways the Huguenots learned the blessedness of giving, and the Lord blessed them for it.

Another peculiarity of the Huguenots was their *Presbyterial Church government and their church discipline*. In France the Reformed church was peculiar in being thoroughly organized into classes, synods and general synods. Their consistories had the power of strict discipline, and prided themselves on it. But in Germany, the Lutheran idea of church government was most common. The Reformed idea was that the power came up from the people through the elders or Presbytery; the Lutheran, that it came down from the Prince through the consistory. Even the Reformed churches, with the exception of the General Synod of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark, was governed by consistories appointed by the government. And of all the German Princes, their best friends, the Electors of Brandenburg, were most opposed to the Presbyterial government. They held that the Prince was the head of the Church—a sort of bishop—and that he must watch over it with fatherly care. The French, when they came to Germany, were promised the Presbyterial form of government, and yet it is a remarkable fact that that

promise in the Potsdam edict was never made good to them. For King Frederick of Prussia declared that he was bishop, and as such would see that their French rights were preserved.* The King of Prussia appointed an upper consistory in Berlin, May 4, 1701, with inspectors under it. But although he took away their Synods, he allowed them perfect liberty in the individual congregation. He thus united the Presbyterian with the Episcopal government. He was bishop, while each congregation had its own Presbyterium,† which had entire control of the Church discipline and benevolence; but the upper courts of the Church were under the control of the Prince and the consistory. The French congregation at Magdeburg refused to accept the control of the upper consistory, claiming they would answer to none but elders elected by the congregation, and finally the royal authorities had to grant their position. At Cassel the French colonies were also placed under a consistory, instead of a Synod, although this was called, like Calvin's at Geneva, the Venerable Company of Pastors, and under it were inspectors of different districts. All this was a bitter disappointment to the refugees, because they prided themselves on their gov-

* In this opposition to Presbyterian government, he thoroughly sympathized with King James I. of England, who said, "that Presbytery and monarchy agree as little with each other as God and devil. There," he said, "Jack and Tom and Bill and Dick decree censure even against the king and his council, and do not allow them to have a quiet breath any more."

† We will hereafter use the word Presbyterium (board of elders), to distinguish it from Presbytery, which is composed of ministers.

ernment and discipline. They expected that Synods would be held, and even planned the following division of Germany into district Synods : first, Anspach-Baireuth ; second, Brunswick-Hanover-Lippe ; third, Frankford, the Palatinate, and Hesse ; fourth, Wurtemberg. By this loss of Presbyterial government they felt that their crown was taken away and their body left dumb. Some of them wrote to their friends in France, that they were still under the cross in Germany, and they were much more oppressed than they had been in France. Indeed it is a remarkable fact, that only in Lutheran counties did they receive their Synodal government, and this was because they were separated from the State. But under Reformed governments they were put under consistories and lost their Synods. However, four Synods were organized. The first was the Frankish Reformed Synod, or the Synod of Baireuth-Anspach, which from 1688 to 1732 held fourteen Synods.* A second Synod was formed in Wurtemberg. Its first meeting was held at Durmenz, September 12, 1701. This Synod was held every three or

* When that land fell into the hands of the Elector of Brandenburg, he put these French colonies under the French Upper-Consistory at Berlin. Then Bavaria gained control of them, and placed them under a Lutheran consistory, one of whose members wanted to know why the Reformed had no crucifix on the altar. Tollin, in reply to this, says (*History of Magdeburg*, Vol. I., page 629) : "As is known, the Reformed generally have no altar, but only a communion table." Of course the Reformed were not satisfied under the Lutherans, and there was friction. So finally a Reformed Synod was organized, and in 1884 the twenty-sixth Synod was held.



five years, and continued till about 1760. But it gradually lost its authority over the congregations, and so was given up. For the villages were too far apart and the expense of traveling too great for them to labor efficiently together in a Synod. A third Synod was the Synod of Brunswick-Hanover, formed of the Hanover, Hameln, Celle, Lüneburg and Buckeburg congregations in 1703. This Synod continued till 1725, meeting sometimes yearly. It was revived again in this century in 1829, in what is now "the Confederation of Lower Saxony," the congregations having in the meanwhile become German. Another Synod, but of short duration, was composed of the churches around Frankford on the Main. It was composed of the colonies in Hesse-Homburg, Isenburg-Budingen and Schaumberg, and held its sessions, one at Frankford, November 22, 1699, and another March 1, 1702. Countess Elizabeth Charlotte of Schaumberg, the daughter of Melander, the great general of the Thirty Years' War, was the patron of some of these congregations. She gave them land and money, but, alas, during the Palatinate wars, when the French armies came so near, many of them in alarm emigrated farther east for the sake of safety, and so the Synod was broken up.

Wherever the refugees had opportunity, they exercised the strict Church discipline, which was the glory of their Church in France. In Wurtemberg the very first Synod took action against Sabbath labor, although the poverty

of the colonists might have condoned the offence. At Erlangen the Presbyterium did not wait for notorious scandals to break out before they took action. They issued a warning against anything that seemed to prepare the way for them. They disciplined two young people in 1689 for playing cards all night. On March 9, 1693, three members were called before the elders, because they had not been at church service the previous Sunday, but on the bridge. On August 10, 1692, a young woman was disciplined for dancing. Many of the congregations, as at Halle, Leipsic, Erlangen and Cassel, used tokens at communion, so as to prevent the unworthy from coming to the communion table. These tokens were given out at the preparatory service, and returned to the elders at communion.* They used Calvin's Catechism and the Heidelberg Catechism translated into French.

Another peculiarity of the French refugees was their intense devotion to Germany. They learned to love the land that received them, more than the land that cast them out. Very often during the Napoleonic wars did the officers of Napoleon, when in Germany, expect sympathy from these refugees. But they found none, and often upbraided them, and sometimes severely treated them for the lack of it. The French, when they took Hamburg, loaded the French pastor with reproaches for

* At Halle the token had on it the seal of the church—a palm branch. At Erlangen the one side had two hands holding a burning heart, and on the other a dove with an olive branch.

not being true to France. How could they expect it, when France drove his ancestors out? And when the French went away, the members of the French church there sang a Te Deum of praise to God over it, thus showing their loyalty to the Germans. So, too, the French of Friedrichsdorf fought bravely for the German Empire against France in the war of 1870. A beautiful illustration of this is told, that when Napoleon was in Berlin, the gray-haired pastor of the French church, Erman, had an audience with Napoleon. Napoleon brought various severe charges against Queen Louisa of Prussia. But to everything that Napoleon brought against her, Erman answered with great decision: "Sire, it is not true." And finally, seizing Napoleon's arm, he dared to say: "Sire, this arm is victorious, let it also be gentle and kind. Touch not the reputation of the Queen, for she is an excellent Princess." Erman expected that he would be punished by imprisonment or loss of position for doing such an act, but to the surprise of all, Napoleon allowed him his liberty, and afterwards said: "One of your ministers has told me the truth." Some time after, Queen Louisa, at a feast of the Order, 1810, called Erman forth, and thanked him, saying: "I cannot refuse the satisfaction of toasting the health of him, who had the courage, when all others were forsaking me, to stand up, like one of the knights of old, and break a lance in defence of his Queen." The Queen after that was always very favorable to the French colony.

CHAPTER, IV.—SECTION II.

THE EFFECT ON THE FRENCH.—THE REVENGE OF HISTORY.

France's loss was Germany's gain. And the greater the loss to France, the greater the gain to Germany. One fifth of the Huguenots went into exile. They took away with them sixty millions of coined money. As the Catholic statesman Dauban said, "the business of forty-six thousand men was ruined, the fleet of the enemy enriched by nine thousand sailors—the best in the kingdom, and the army of the enemy, with six hundred excellent officers and twelve thousand experienced soldiers." Marshal Schomberg, the leading General of France, the successor of Turenne and Conde, and also her greatest Admiral, Du Quesne (after De Ruyter, the first Admiral of his day), were Huguenots. The former fled, the latter was made the only exception to the edict. The loss to commerce was enormous. Jurien said: "The Protestants have carried commerce with them into exile. Of the 18,000 silk looms at Lyons only 400 remained. Tours had 70 mills out of 800, 1,200 looms out of 80,000, and 4,000 inhabitants out of 40,000. The woollen trade of Portou was ruined. Metz lost three-fourths of its trade in

cloth, and from a population of 60,000 fell to 22,000 ; while Lyons fell from 90,000 to 70,000. In Normandy 26,000 houses were empty.

But worse than the loss of population, was the loss to the French of the best qualities of character, that were taken out by the Huguenots—the very qualities that the French specially needed to balance their character. The French are reputed to be a mercurial, changeable, fickle race, but the Huguenots were not fickle or mercurial, or they never would have given up all for the sake of their faith. On the contrary, they were staunch adherents to principle, even if it led to death. They, therefore, possessed the steadiness that the French seem to lack to-day. Had they remained in France, they would have imparted the much-needed steadiness to the French nation. Indeed, the most awful result of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes may be said to have been the infidelity of the French Revolution. The corrective of the infidel tendency of the French Revolution would have been the reverence for God taught by the Huguenots.

“Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
These alone lead to sovereign power.”

This reverence for God and religion was largely lost to France, when the Huguenots departed. Bayle said to the Romanists of France: “Your triumph will be the victory of Deism.” And so it was afterwards in the French Revolution. That Revolution came to punish a

nation for its Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. With the Huguenots went the pious spirit, the faith, the morality, to become a blessing to other lands.

And, as the history rolls on, nowhere do we see the revenges of history more strongly brought out than in the wars between Germany and France. God sent the death angel to Louis XIV., and took from him within eleven months his son, his grandson and his eldest great-grandson. The second great-grandson, a five year old child, succeeded him. While the last of his race was called "the paschal lamb," offered for his country. As Louis' body was brought to the church of St. Denis in Paris, the Romish people followed it with stones and laughter. As his heart was brought to the Jesuit church, not more than six persons, outside the civil officers, went with it. He died, unwept, unhonored, though not unsung. And the further we follow French history, the more the stern Nemesis of revenge appears. "The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly fine." God has avenged His slaughtered saints. And Germany, who received so many of them, was ordained of God to perform the punishment. This was most strikingly brought out in the late Franco-Prussian war. Who was it that conquered France? A descendent of the great Coligny, whom they massacred at St. Bartholomew, Emperor William I. of Germany (who was a descendent of Coligny nine generations off), yes, doubly descended from Coligny

through the Palatinate, and also through the Orange, House.* And where did the coronation of the Emperor of Germany take place? At Versailles, at the very place where the King Louis XIV. issued his edict, driving out the Huguenots. It is a very significant fact, that in the staff of Emperor William, when he rode into Paris, there were eighty descendents of those banished Huguenots. They were "Daniels come to judgment." And where was the decisive battle of the war fought? At Sedan, so famous centuries ago for its Reformed theological seminary, which was suppressed by Louis XIV. And where was the Emperor Louis Napoleon confined as a prisoner? At Williamshoehe at Cassel, a city that had received the refugees, and a park begun by them. Fearfully has God revenged the Huguenots on France. And greatly has He blessed Germany for receiving them, and made her the leading Empire of continental Europe.†

* The Coligny family, who remained in France and renounced Protestantism, died out, while that branch, that gave up all for the sake of Christ, became the ancestors of Kings.

† The same revenge of history is to be noticed in connection with Austria. Where did Prussia defeat Austria, and finally destroy her power over the German States? At Sadowa, in Bohemia, where Austria had put to death and banished her pious Protestants, as France persecuted hers.

BOOK III.

THE RAVAGE OF THE PALATINATE.

CHAPTER I.

PREPARATION FOR THE CATASTROPHE.

SECTION I.

PRINCESS LISE-LOTTE.

A second time was the Palatinate to have a baptism of fire. Forty years passed away, and the sufferings of the Thirty Years' War were light compared with those yet to come. A century of darkness came on the Palatinate. It began with wars, it was continued by persecutions. The wars had their beginnings as far back as the Thirty Years' War. For in that war the Princes of the Palatinate learned the advantages of making alliances with the French, and of having French subsidies. Charles Lewis looked on France as a helper against the aggressions of the Emperor and of the Romish Princes around him. While France on the other hand was only too glad to form an alliance that might be fruitful to her at some time

or other. For Louis XIV. had an ambition to be a new Charlemagne. He hoped to found a kingdom that would include all Germany, as well as France, and like Charlemagne's, cover Europe. He wanted to found the ancient kingdom of Austrasia in Germany, on which he proposed to place Elector Charles Lewis as King. Thus the Elector of the Palatinate was coquetting with the French ; and to strengthen his relations with France, he determined to marry his daughter, Elizabeth Charlotte, or as she is generally known in history, "Lise-Lotte," to the Duke of Orleans, the brother of the King of France.

She was born May 17, 1652, and was carefully educated by her aunt, Electress Sophia of Hanover, under the eye of the philosopher, Leibnitz. She became a woman of remarkable abilities. She however looked on her marriage, which was a purely political one, with dread. She finally acquiesced to her father's will, and was married in 1671, but she ever considered herself the political lamb, sacrificed for her land. She went to Metz, and by November, 1671, she was there compelled to give up her Protestant faith and join the Romish Church, an act which caused a great sensation among the Reformed of the Palatinate.

But though a nominal Romanist, Lise-Lotte ever remained a Protestant at heart, as her life and letters show. She read her Bible in spite of the bigoted warnings of King Louis XIV. and of the ridicule of the court. She spent

part of every morning in reading the Bible and in prayer. A beautiful illustration is told of her, that she was walking one day in the Orangerie at Versailles, and was singing the sixth Psalm in French. (It required a good deal of courage to do this, for the French Psalms were the symbol of Protestantism, and were often forbidden by the French government.) While she was singing it, a noted artist of the time, warmly attached to the Reformed religion, happened to be painting the roof. Scarcely had she finished the last verse, when she saw Mr. Rosseau hasten down the ladder and fall at her feet. She thought he was mad, and said, "Rosseau, what is the matter?" With tears in his eyes he replied: "Is it possible that you still recollect our Psalms and sing them? May God bless and keep you in this good mind." It is somewhat remarkable that about the time that Louis XIV. issued his Revocation, driving the Reformed out of France, she was singing their Psalms in his palace. She was bitterly opposed to all priestcraft, and hated the Jesuits with a great hatred, for the woes they brought on her dear land of the Palatinate. When her son became regent in France, she did much to save some of the Reformed from the awful punishment of the galleys. She lived like a hermit, she said, separated from her loved ones, her faith, her land, and out of sympathy with the court. Her children were her only joy, and they were snatched away from her, to be educated in the Romish faith; for evi-

dently the Romanists felt they could not be exactly sure that they would be thorough Romanists, if left to the training of such a Bible reader as their mother.

Her strong religious principles enabled her to remain pure in that most corrupt court. She was the pure white lily in that black marsh of Versailles. Her son, separated from the good influence of his mother, grew up a libertine, and her daughter, a fashionable weakling. Her great comfort was in her letter-writing to her aunt Sophia at Hanover. Although she lived in France, yet she ever remained an intense German in her sympathies. After a stay of thirty years, she still confessed that she was a stranger in France. Louis XIV. respected her for her strength and purity of character; and in his old age, when broken down by defeats and disappointments, recognized her worth, and leaned on her for comfort. Madame De Maintenon hated her bitterly, but never was able to destroy the King's regard for her. She was his good angel, as Madame De Maintenon was his evil angel. She died, October 8, 1722. She was strong without ambition, pious without bigotry, prudent without pretense—a remarkable woman. In spite of the untoward influences against her and her house, she still became the ancestress of Kings, for the Orleans family of France and the family of Maria Theresa of Austria both are descended from her.

But her marriage, instead of saving her land, only proved its ruin. Elector Charles Lewis lived to see the mistake he had made. For the French sent their armies into the western Palatinate in the wars of the Reunions, in 1673 and again in 1674, terribly devastating the districts west of the Rhine. He wrote to the French General, Turenne, asking him, if he had forgotten that his father, when a refugee, had once found an asylum in the Palatinate.* But in spite of the Elector's protests, the French crossed the Rhine, ravaging the Berg-Strasse fearfully. They tore the clothes off the inhabitants in their search for money, and dug up springs, and tore off the plaster from the walls. And, because some money happened once to be found secreted in a stork's nest, the storks had a sorry time of it, for all their nests were uprooted. Finally the French retired from the Palatinate in 1679, before the advancing German armies. But the air was still full of rumors of wars. Elector Charles Lewis died, October 17, 1680.

* Turenne had been a Protestant, but through the influence of his second wife had become a Romanist.

CHAPTER I.—SECTION II.

PRINCESS ELIZABETH OF THE PALATINATE.

Princess Elizabeth was the most talented Princess the Reformed Church of Germany ever possessed. She was the oldest sister of Elector Charles Lewis, and was born December 26, 1718, at Heidelberg. When her father, Elector Frederick V., went to Bohemia, she was left behind with her grandmother, the Electress Juliane, and when the latter fled, was taken with her to Königsberg. It was the sublime faith and religious earnestness of her grandmother that helped to lay the foundations of the serious thoughtfulness of her character. At the age of ten she was sent to her father's family in Holland. Here she learned the secrets of sorrow. Her family was in exile, her dearest brother was drowned. Then her father died. Her mother, the Electress Elizabeth, failed to recognize her abilities, so that there was a coolness shown to her.

But her adversities turned out to be blessings. For when her family had been driven into exile by the Thirty Years' War, they had settled in one of the most learned lands in Europe. Holland was then the home of painters, poets and thinkers. Here Rene Descartes became

private tutor to Elizabeth, and she made great progress in his studies. (Elizabeth made no pretensions to beauty, but had an expressive eye and a pleasant countenance.) Descartes was delighted to find in her a scholar so capable of exploring with him erudite questions, and of comprehending sublime truths. After teaching her for about two years, he went to north Holland, but still kept up correspondence with her, his favorite pupil, and often went to the Hague, so as to visit her. The little court of the Palatinate family, although in exile, became famous for its beauty and learning, so that it was called "the home of the Muses and Graces." Of the three illustrious sisters in that family, Louisa was the greatest artist, Sophia the most polished lady, but Elizabeth the most learned. She made such progress in philosophy that she became famous as the Star of the North. Her learning was considered all the more remarkable, because at that time it was considered above the sphere or power of woman to excel in philosophy. In her correspondence with Descartes she would discuss the deepest questions of philosophy, such as the union of soul and body, God's omnipotence and omniscience, and man's free agency and virtue. Descartes appreciated her so highly as to dedicate his leading work, "The Principles of Philosophy," to her. In 1647 she went to Berlin, where, in the court of her uncle, the Elector of Brandenburg, she gained great fame, especially through a disputation which she had

with the celebrated Thomas Kresbesch. While staying here she learned with great sorrow of the death of her teacher Descartes.

After the Thirty Years' War was over, she went back to Heidelberg with her brother to live. Here her literary talents brought her into intimate relations with the professors in the university, especially with Professor Hottinger, who compared her with the talented Olympia Morata, who had graced Heidelberg a century before. Through a relative she became acquainted with the celebrated theologian, John Koch, the founder of the Cocceian school of theology, and kept up a correspondence with him. But when her brother put away his wife and married the Raugrafin, she indignantly left his court (1662) and went to live with his disowned wife at Cassel. In 1667 the Elector of Brandenburg appointed her Abbess at Herford, a Protestant Abbey. This gave her a small territory with about seven thousand inhabitants to rule over. These she governed with wise discretion, and at the same time gathered around her a congenial company of thinkers, so that Herford became a court of the Muses.

It was her liberal spirit that led her to invite Labadie and his congregation to settle in her land. The dangers of Cartesian rationalism were in her counteracted by Pietism. Against the coming of these Separatists in 1670, the Lutheran ministers and people of her land protested.

They appealed to her, and from her to the Elector of Brandenburg, so as to get rid of them. She however gave these Labadists a home for two years, because she believed in freedom of conscience. For this act she had to suffer a good deal of ridicule and opposition.

It was her reception of Labadie that called the attention of William Penn to her. There were two reasons why Penn respected the Reformed Church. One was because his mother had been a member of that Church in Holland. Another was because he had studied at one of the Reformed universities, the university of Saumur in France, 1662-3. Here he had sat at the feet of Professor Moses Amyraut, who was compared to Moses leading the Israelites, and whose fame was sung in the couplet :

“From Moses down to Moses none
Among the sons of men
With equal lustre ever shone
In manners, tongue or pen.”

Penn determined to visit Elizabeth, hoping to convert such a learned, broad-minded Princess to his Quaker faith. He visited her in 1677 at Herford, and stayed with her three days. On the first day of his visit he called on her and was surprised to be received with such warm expressions of welcome. He, therefore, took courage and began preaching. They had a religious service, which lasted from 7 to 11 o'clock A. M. In the afternoon he again returned to her castle and found Elizabeth

had invited her intimate friend, the Countess of Horn, and several others, to service. He held services there till 7 P. M., and all, both preacher and hearers, were deeply affected. The next day at 9 A. M. he held a service again, all the Countess' servants being present. In the afternoon he fulfilled his promise to her to narrate the story of his conversion to the Quaker faith, together with the persecutions he had suffered for it. After supper with her, he again continued the story of his conversion until 11 P. M. On the next day, the last of their stay, not only the residents of the castle, but also the inhabitants of the town were present at service. Penn preached with great power, so that the Princess was so overcome with her feelings that she could hardly give expression to her words when she bade him good-bye. On his return from south Germany, he again visited her and held meetings in her castle as before. He found there the Count of Dohna, one of the prominent nobles in the Brandenburg court. Dohna and he soon got into a debate about the nature of Christianity and conversion. Penn gave an account of his withdrawal from the world in order to become a Quaker. Dohna then attacked the peculiar custom of the Quakers in never lifting their hats, not even to Kings. Penn tried to show him that such a custom was "a weed of degeneracy, a mere fleshly honor," that it often covered insincerity, and that the hat should be lifted to none but God alone when taken off in God's house. After he had

gone away, the Princess corresponded with him until her death in 1680. Penn was greatly affected by her death, for he had a true regard for her. When he published the second edition of his work, "No Cross, no Crown," he perpetuated her memory by inserting her name among the ancient and modern benefactors of mankind.

She was the brightest light of the Palatinate house since Elector Frederick III., who ordered the composition of the Heidelberg Catechism. To a mind of unusual ability she added the graces of piety, which beautified and sanctified it. It was an interesting coincidence that Penn came in contact with her just at the time that he was about laying out Pennsylvania, for whose principles of religious liberty her little abbey of Herford might well serve as a pattern. Penn amply repaid the debt to her and the Reformed Church by receiving her brethren of the faith into Pennsylvania, and making it the birth-place of the German Reformed Church in the United States.

CHAPTER I.—SECTION III.

THE REIGN OF ELECTOR CHARLES.

When Elector Charles Lewis died, his only son, Charles, ascended the throne. He was a sickly youth, over whom death, like the sword of Damocles, seemed to hang already. Although surrounded by the splendors of the court, still he had an unpleasant boyhood. He deeply mourned the disgrace of his mother, when his father cast her aside. He was not happy in his surroundings, for the children of his father's second marriage were not congenial. Their splendid physical strength and health made him envious. Besides, he saw that his father thought more of them than of him. He grew up, therefore, sickly and despondent, with a cloud hanging over his life. He was married to a Princess of Denmark, but she proved uncongenial. As the result of all these untoward events, he was not the man for the hour. Europe was just entering upon the stormy period at the close of the seventeenth century, and the Palatinate needed a leader—a man of action, so as to prevent any further French aggressions. On the contrary, he was melancholy, and fond of retirement. As he was not well, he gave most of his affairs into the charge of his ministers.

As long as his Councillor Hachenberg lived, all went well. But he died seven months after Charles ascended the throne. So Charles appointed as his prime minister Langhanns, his court preacher, a man who seems to have been more gifted with worldly wisdom than with spiritual-mindedness.

Langhanns, however, was in his religious belief a staunch Calvinist, and through him there was a revival of Calvinism in the Palatinate. For Elector Charles Lewis, especially after his marriage with the Lady of Degenfeld, who was a Lutheran, was more and more inclined to union with the Lutherans, and he had given up some Calvinistic customs, as well as introduced others that savored of union. Now, however, his son aimed to bring back the Palatinate to the Calvinism of the preceding century, when Elector Frederick III. was on the throne and the Heidelberg Catechism was written. Many of the Reformed customs and institutions, which had fallen into disuse through Elector Charles Lewis, were now revived. The Elector re-introduced the power of the Presbyterium in the congregation, giving to them the care over Church discipline. He ordered the visitation of the churches, which his worldly-minded and penurious father thought too expensive, and had given up. He enlarged the Sapienz College, so that it could have forty students. He appointed regular meetings of the Classes, in place of special Synods held only occasionally,

and made them more of a devotional character, than for business alone. As Elector Frederick III. had gladly received French refugees into his land after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, so he received French refugees after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He also, with the Elector of Brandenburg, interceded for the Reformed of Hungary (who were oppressed by the Catholics) and of Frankford on the Main (who were oppressed by the Lutherans). But his most important act to the Reformed Church was the revival of the Reformed consistory. This organization, which stood at the head of the Palatinate Church, had been reduced by his father, for the sake of economy, to four members. He enlarged it to its original size of seven (six members and a secretary). His organization of the consistory and of the Classes made them a bulwark to protect the Reformed Church against Romish aggressions. Without these reforms, the Reformed Church would never have been able to withstand the terrible storms of the century that followed. The Reformed Church, therefore, owes him a debt of gratitude for what he did for her during his brief reign. Indeed, he seemed to take little interest in anything except religious affairs. He went so far as to publish a theological work, "*Philothei symbola Christiania*," in 1672.

It soon became evident that Elector Charles would not live long. As he had no children, there came up the

question of his successor. This was very unfortunate for the Reformed, for it would put their land under the control of a Romish Prince, the nearest of kin, the Duke of Pfalz Neuburg. Elector Charles, however, tried to do the best he could for his Reformed people. Negotiations were entered into between himself and his cousin, the Duke of Pfalz Neuburg, and a compact was agreed upon, known as the Halle Recess. In it the Duke of Pfalz Neuburg promised to give toleration to the Reformed, as the Peace of Westphalia had demanded. He also guaranteed that the Reformed consistory and university were to remain in the same condition, as they were during Elector Charles' reign. This compact was signed by the Duke in May, 1685. But when it was brought back to Heidelberg, to be signed by Elector Charles, alas, he died before doing so. And with his death were buried the hopes of the Reformed Church of the Palatinate. When his death was announced from the pulpit, it is said the congregation wept aloud, so that the minister could be heard with difficulty. The poor Reformed people seemed instinctively to know of the doom that was awaiting them under the Romish Electors, as the night of a century began to fall upon them.

CHAPTER II.

THE POLITICAL REIGN OF TERROR.

SECTION I.

THE REIGN OF ELECTOR PHILLIP WILLIAM.

The year 1685 which brought such terrible woes to the Reformed of France, was to bring to their brethren of the Palatinate the beginning of something almost as bad. No sooner had Elector Charles died than troubles arose. For other claimants came forward for his throne. King Louis XIV. declared that his brother, the Duke of Orleans, was a nearer relative than Elector Phillip William, for he was a brother-in-law to the late Elector, while Phillip William was only a cousin. This was a false claim. For the law of the Palatinate had always made the females waive their claims as long as a male of their line lived. Beside Lise Lotte, the wife of the Duke of Orleans, had, at her marriage, renounced all claims to the throne by an express stipulation. But the injustice of the claim did not stop King Louis XIV. of France. It took more than an injustice to stop him. He was however held back for two years, it is said, by the intercession of Lise Lotte.

The new Elector came to Heidelberg in the autumn of

1685. He at once gave assurances to the Reformed, that he would give them full liberty. In a meeting which he had with the Reformed consistory, October 30, he promised them his protection, and he gave a written assurance to the Elector of Brandenburg, the great protector of the Reformed. Still he began making some very significant and unpleasant changes. He himself may have been inclined to toleration, yet the next year the Jesuits came into his land and began to influence him. The Danish minister brought unjust charges against the late prime minister of Elector Charles, Langhanns, that he had alienated the affections of Charles from his wife. For this he was found guilty, his goods were confiscated, he was put into the pillory, and after suffering many indignities, was ordered to be imprisoned for twenty years. However, three years later he was released by the French from his prison at Zwingenberg, and he escaped to Basle, where he died, 1691. This unjust treatment of a Calvinistic minister was ominous. The Elector ordered the new Gregorian calender, which was looked upon by the Protestants as a Romish innovation, to be introduced into his land. He did this thirteen years before it was generally introduced by other Protestant lands. This caused great excitement. He also began giving greater liberties to Catholics. According to the peace of Westphalia, a Romish Prince in a Protestant land had only the right of having Romish service in his castle chapel, yet the Elector

began building Romish cloisters in Heidelberg. He ordered the Carmelite church to be built, and until it was finished, he took away the choir of the Garrison church from the Reformed and gave it to them. He also took advantage of the fact that the Reformed consistory was just then without a head, and consisted of only three members, Fabricius and Burkhard and Naurath. He ordered the consistory not to make any appointments without having first submitted them to him. In 1689, he went farther, and ordered them to propose two names, from which he was to choose. All this was an infringement on their rights, for it took away from them the power of appointing whom they pleased, and made the consistory a creature of the Elector. In 1689 he reduced the number of pastors and teachers by sixty, because, he said, he did not have money enough to pay them. He had the Reformed minister at Frankenthal, Reich, arrested, because he preached so boldly on the eightieth answer of the Heidelberg Catechism. On the other hand, while he lessened the freedom of the Reformed, he increased that of the Romanists. He aided them to build a number of churches and convents. He granted Romish worship where only six persons could be found who desired it. Where they had no church, he gave them the city hall. The Catholics were evidently aiming to get hold of the Reformed churches.

The methods of the Romanists remind us of the old fable of the camel who first asked to be allowed to put his head into the tent. He found it so comfortable there that he asked to be allowed to put his neck in, and then his body, until there was no room in the tent for the owner, and he had to go outside. This method the Romanists took. They first began in 1686 and 1687 to have religious processions through the streets. Then they demanded the use of the Reformed bells, that they might be rung for Romish service. This was a small matter, but it was the entering wedge to greater demands. They then demanded the use of Reformed cemeteries, and began their processions there. All this was preparatory to what took place under the next Elector, namely the demand to use their churches. Having gained the use of the Reformed churches, they would soon crowd their services so much that there was no room for any Reformed services, and so the Reformed were to be entirely crowded out. This was their policy. And, although it took years to bring it about, yet they began it in this reign. They began with the possession of the cemeteries, to end by and by in the possession of the churches. We have called attention to this plan of the Romanists thus early, because it is interesting to watch the development of their plan in the after-history of the Palatinate.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION II.

THE FRENCH WAR OF 1688-89.

These ecclesiastical oppressions were the least of the sufferings of the Reformed. The year 1688 seemed to be ominous all over Europe. It looked as if a second religious war were about to break out between the Catholics and the Protestants, with England, Holland and Protestant Germany against Catholic Germany, France, Austria and Spain. In England the Protestants gained the advantage by the battle of the Boyne. But on the continent, especially in the Palatinate, the Reformed suffered severely. If the century that followed may be called a century of night, the first five years were a period of midnight. The night began with midnight.

In 1688 King Louis XIV. of France grew weary of waiting for the Palatinate to place his brother, the Duke of Orleans, on its throne. And he suddenly precipitated an army of eighty thousand men on the Palatinate, within the short period of seven weeks, and changed that paradise into a desert. The Emperor of Germany, who should have protected the Palatinate, had his hands full with the Turks just then, and could do nothing to help them; while the Palatinate was too weak in itself to

hinder these magnificent French armies. On September 24, 1688, the King of France sent a manifesto, which declared that Phillip^s William was a usurper, and demanded the throne for the Duke of Orleans. While one division of the French army took Kaiserlautern by storm, the other division captured Phillipsburg, Worms, Spire. All the large towns west of the Rhine were taken and had to receive French garrisons. Then Heidelberg was threatened. Many of the upper families fled from it to other lands, while the inhabitants of the surrounding country fled into it for safety. The city, therefore, became so full that they were quartered on the inhabitants. Finally, by October 25, Heidelberg opened its gates to the French, who promised that the city and university would not be oppressed, and that the castle with its archives would be held sacred. Mannheim made a brave resistance, but by November 10 it, too, had surrendered, and Frankenthal surrendered November 18. At Heidelberg, although the French had agreed not to levy any contributions, yet they demanded 80,000 livres within eight days, or they would destroy the city. The inhabitants sent an ambassador, Weingart, the owner of "the hotel of Portugal," to Paris to appeal to the King and to get Lise Lotte to intercede for them. But it was all in vain. The garrison meanwhile quartered their soldiers on the inhabitants and took whatever they wanted.

Then it was that an idea struck the brain of King Louis XIV. more worthy of the Huns and Tartars than of "that most Christian King," as he was called. It was to change the Palatinate into a waste. Then, if he kept it, he would re-people it with Catholics; or if he lost it, he would return it to the German Emperor an Arabian desert. At any rate, as he had driven the Reformed out of France, he determined to drive them out of the Palatinate. If the Palatinate was to become part of his kingdom, he did not want the Reformed with it. It is said his decision was precipitated by a dispute with his minister, Louvois, about a window at the Trianon at Versailles, as he gave the awful command, "*De Bruler le Palatinate*" (ravage the Palatinate.) Fearfully was this carried out. The new year came, and it ushered into the Palatinate a new year indeed—the most awful of the awful years that land had ever yet experienced. On January 18 the work of the ravage began. The French, contrary to their agreement at the surrender of Heidelberg, began to blow up part of the beautiful castle, and to destroy the gardens, orchards and vineyards around the city. The near approach of the Germans made the French general, Melac, determine that if he had to leave the city before the German army, he would leave it a mass of ruins, and the country for ten miles around a barren waste. He said, "If the German Emperor wants the land, I will carry the torch before him." The next day the French began to

fire the villages around the city. In all directions could be seen the flames of burning villages. Having burned the villages along the Neckar, on both sides of the river, the wild hordes marched up the Bergstrasse, the beautiful road to Frankford. When they came to Handschuheim, the largest town on it, they burned it, so that nothing was left; and some citizens of Heidelberg, who had fled there for safety, were shot. A pathetic story has come down to us that the poor orphans in the Reformed orphanage at Handschuheim were compelled to flee almost naked across the snow to Schonau, when it was found that two of them had found their graves in the snow. The French shut up the magistrates of Handschuheim naked in the bitter cold church for three days, until they were almost frozen. On the road from Dossenheim to Neuenhain 52 bodies lay naked, and were gathered up and buried November 3.

And now came the time when Heidelberg was to receive its baptism of fire—its crown of suffering.* On February 16 the thick tower of the castle was blown up, but March 2 was destined to be the date of the city's great destruction. At 5 A. M. the castle garrison, 900 strong, was gathered in the open court of the castle with its baggage ready to depart. At 6 A. M. three shots were fired from the apothecary's tower. This was the signal for the destruction, which ended only with the departure of the

* For an interesting account of the destruction of Heidelberg during the wars of 1688 and 1693, see the novel "Die Rose von Heidelberg," by Robiano.

French troops at noon. At 7 A. M. the artillery commissioner appeared in the arsenal with pitch, matches and straw wisps. The castle caught fire rapidly, and in half an hour was in flames. The garrison remained in the court of the castle till the roof fell in, and then marched out, leaving six miners behind to blow up the castle. That anything of the castle was saved, was due to the few people who remained behind in it, and who tried to save it; but a man and two women lost their lives in the flames. And so the castle, which it had taken centuries to build, was destroyed in a single morning.

Then came the city's turn. The soldiers went through the town, putting burning material into the houses and setting them on fire. Fortunately the commander gave orders that though the city be burned, the churches should be spared. The cruel general, Melac (the Tilly of this war—the Duke of Alva of his age), sat on his horse in the market square, enjoying the spectacle with the greatest pleasure—like Nero, who cruelly fiddled while Rome was burning.*

* As the city hall lay in ashes, he stooped to a very low species of revenge. Weingart, who had been ambassador to Paris, had already been terribly oppressed by having no less than 75 men quartered on him for four days, and had to pay 68 gulden so as not to have his house plundered. During the conflagration Melac came to his door with 150 dragoons, and as Weingart would not open, he cut down the door, entered the house, broke open the chests, took the linen and the clothes in them, and set the house on fire with bed clothes and benches. And as the great stable and the back part of the house burned, Melac said to him, "This is my recompense to you for your mission to Paris."



THE DESTRUCTION OF HEIDELBERG (1689).

[The figure on horseback is General Melac. To the left above him is the Castle. On his right is the Knights' House, and still further to his right is the Steeple of the Holy Ghost Church.]

But not all the officers were as hard-hearted as Melac. De Tesse, when the mayor fell at his feet to plead for mercy to the city, said he was very sorry to have to burn the city, but it was the strict order of his King. Still de Tesse secretly gave them permission to put out the flames, provided they left smoke ascend. He allowed them to kindle a harmless fire, which the people made by filling their windows with damp straw and lighting it, thus causing a dense smoke to go from the house and give the appearance of a great fire within. But he had to conceal his mercy. To the royal attendant of the King he exaggerated the destruction of the city by saying that half of the town was in ashes, when only thirty houses in the old city were entirely destroyed, although many were damaged. It was only owing to the pity of these officers, to the mediation of the Romish orders and the activity of the people that the whole city was not destroyed. At noon the French army marched away, taking with them 12 hostages, among them the Reformed pastor Achenbach.

Then came Manheim's turn. The French commander, on March 3, notified the inhabitants that their town must be destroyed. If they would help, he would give them twenty days, and if they would seek an asylum in France, he would aid them to get there. But the inhabitants promptly refused to tear down their own houses, and fled in haste. So on March 5 the soldiers began to break

down the houses, and the next day burn them. And while the inhabitants in wild throngs rushed across the Neckar bridge, the city and castle were changed into a mass of rubbish and stones, the churches destroyed, and the body of the Raugrafin torn from its grave in the Concordia church. This flourishing city remained for a long time ruined. Two hundred families went to Magdeburg, and the rest wandered homeless hither and thither, living on charity. A citizen who returned afterwards saw nothing but a stone heap, in which it was difficult to make out where the streets had been. Thus destruction was carried on along the Rhine from Treves to the Ortenau. At Spire the commandant ordered all out of the town within six days, but the next day the whole town, with its twenty towers and churches, was given to the flames. General Montclas had told the citizens that they could bring their goods into the cathedral, as it would be saved; but when it was filled with inflammable material, the soldiers set it on fire. Sacred things were no more safe than secular and profane. The church relics were stolen, and the bodies of the old German Emperors, before whose power in their lives little France had trembled, they tore from their tombs and played tennis with their skulls. Worms, after suffering great oppressions from its garrison, was notified, May 23, that the town must be laid even with the ground. When the people wailed and cried, the Duke de Erequi comforted

them with the thought that their lot was to be shared by 1200 towns. For many years, to show their hatred of their cruel oppressors, the Palatines would name their dogs after the French generals Melac and Montclas. On Tuesday after Whitsunday they burnt Worms, except the cathedral, while they drowned the cries of the inhabitants by the music of bands and the shooting of cannons. If great cities suffered, what was to be expected in the villages and country districts? There the destruction was continued till August. Great as had been the oppressions during the Thirty Years' War, they had never been carried on in such a systematic or thorough way as now. The French tore up the vinestalks and cut down the fruit trees. Hardly a town was to be seen, and villages and towns lay under rubbish. Twelve hundred villages were razed to the ground and 40,000 inhabitants robbed of all they had. The Emperor of Germany was right when he called this act of the French King a barbarity, which even the infidel Turks would not allow. Since the days of the Huns, Europe had not been so devastated. Melac was a second Attila—no grass grew under his feet. Though two centuries have passed away, the marks of this devastation can still be noted, for the villages between Treves and the Ortenau are all new, having been rebuilt since the war.

If the sufferings of the people were so great, still more terrible were the sufferings of the Reformed. If the

troops spared not their co-religionists, the Romanists, much less did they spare the Reformed.* The property of the Reformed was taken from them, especially in Germersheim. In many places Romish service was forcibly introduced, and parents were compelled to send their children to Catholic service. In some places, when the older children refused, they were unmercifully beaten with rods or driven out half naked in the winter from the villages into the woods, so that some perished in the snow, because of the cold. In many places there was no church building left for them after the terrible conflagrations that burned up everything, so the congregations had to worship in the open air. Immense multitudes went down the Rhine. Utterly destitute, they arrived at Holland, and encamped by thousands in the environs of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The Dutch did all they could to help them, their persecuted brethren in the faith. And yet in the midst of all their sufferings, their pastor at Heidelberg, Achenbach, a Calvinist, would comfort them with the remembrance that they were the elect of God, whom He would not forsake.

* When the Reformed at Christmas morning, 1689, went to service in the Holy Ghost church at Heidelberg, they found the door shut and a French guard placed at it. The soldiers plagued them by sending them from one door to the other, until at last they found that the only entrance open was to the Romish service in the choir.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION III.

THE WAR OF 1693-4.

The war of 1688-9 was over, and yet the war was not over. For in 1691 the French army was still in the Palatinate, west of the Rhine. And east of the Rhine the two armies marched and countermarched, and the land which had suffered under one army, fairly groaned under two. From Bretten to Manheim the German army had its quarters. They hastily built Manheim, 8000 men laboring at it daily. Heidelberg was so far rebuilt that it was defensible as a fort. Finally, in May, 1693, the French army again approached Heidelberg, to complete what they had left undone in 1689. The city could have been defended until aid came, for the German army was not far away. But its Commander-in-chief, Eberhard of Heidersdorf, proved a traitor. No sooner did he hear that the French army was approaching, than he sent all his baggage across the Neckar. This cowardly act greatly disheartened the citizens. All who were able began to leave the city and cross the Neckar bridge. Then the commandant, like some Jewish usurer, determined to make money out of their necessities. He refused to let any of them leave the city and cross the Neckar

without a passport, and no one could get a passport unless he paid from twenty to thirty thalers for it. On May 18 a strong French corps appeared and began to garrison the heights back of the city, and also the west bank of the Neckar. Then General Melac came with 3000 men and took possession of the King's Seat on the top of the mountain. On May 21 and 22 the French made a pretended attack—a sort of blind alarm. At this the traitorous commander withdrew his troops from the town, the Star fortification and Klingenthor up to the castle. He thus laid open to the enemy the most important points, as if to show them how to get in. To still further cripple his own troops, he caused twenty-three of his own guns to be spiked. His officers and soldiers were astonished at all this, and made bitter complaints against him. Under Colonel Avendal they would have fortified these places again, but before they could do so, the French entered the middle gate, for the commandant had neglected (perhaps intentionally) to lift the bridge and let the portcullis fall. The entrance of the French was the signal for a general demoralization. Soldiers left their posts, citizens left their homes, and all who could, climbed the hill to the castle, to find safety there. Thus the city was basely surrendered to the enemy and left to their mercy, which was no mercy at all. Five regiments plundered the town; and whatever of cruelty they had left undone in 1688 they did now. They went through the

town murdering the men, ill-treating the women and setting the town on fire at various places. The people they met in the streets they drove into the church of the Holy Ghost, until it was as full as it could possibly be, the men, women and children huddled together like sheep in a pen. Then they locked them in and set the church-roof and steeple on fire. There was such a wailing and crying, says a witness, as would make a stone weep. But all this did not produce any effect upon the enemy, until the steeple of the church was in flames, and the bells, melting through the heat, threatened to fall down. Then it was that the French opened the doors, but some persons were found dead from fright. They drove the people into the garden of the neighboring Capuchin cloister, to treat them to sufferings worse than death. The body of King Rupert was torn from its resting place in the church. And Elector Charles Lewis' presentiment that his body would not be left undisturbed in his grave, was fulfilled. The bodies of the Princes buried in the choir were dragged to the street, to be robbed and the bones scattered about the market place around the church. And so the destruction continued till the whole town, except a few houses and the churches, was laid in ashes. None of the old buildings could be distinguished, except the general direction of the streets. The only private building that outlasted the storm of the Thirty Years' War, and the sieges of 1688 and 1693, was the Knights' Hall in the open square,

opposite the Church of the Holy Ghost, a building of remarkable architectural beauty designed by Belier, a French refugee, in 1592, and which is still standing. The castle also surrendered the next day. The French remained in the town till September. The city was a mass of rubbish and ashes. Even the walls could not be traced. The Otto Henry's building was burned and most of the forts blown up. What population there was, fled. And yet King Louis XIV. celebrated a Te Deum in Versailles over these barbarities. On the other hand, Lise-Lotte, whose unhappy marriage had been the cause of all this, wrote that for more than six months, whenever she closed her eyes in sleep, she seemed to see the familiar places at Heidelberg in flames, and would start up suddenly in fright and weep by the hour until she choked with sobs. The treacherous commandant was court-martialled and cashiered, but that did not repair the damage done to Heidelberg. It was destroyed for many years. The next year, in February, a small French force appeared and destroyed what was left. What the French did at Heidelberg, they repeated at Spire, and the bodies of the old Emperors were despoiled by order of the French commandant, named Henz.*

* At the same date, a hundred years later, when the tombs of the French Kings were despoiled at St. Denis in Paris, and the body of Louis XIV. torn from its grave, the leader was a man also named Henz. Providence thus revenged itself on Louis XIV. for his barbarities by a man of the same name.

But the greatest sufferer of all was the Reformed Church. She suffered from both sides, for both armies, the German, which should have been her friend, and the French, her enemy, combined against her. The Church, like Heidelberg, was in ruins before the close of 1693. One hundred Reformed churches, mainly west of the Rhine, were in the hands of the Romanists. At some places the people were severely fined, because they would not go to Romish service. Sometimes the Romanists drove the people into the church, and forced the wafer into their mouths. The Romish priest of Erbisbittersheim put on the clothes of a French officer, and, at the point of a pistol, drove Nisius, the Reformed minister at Spendlingen, out of the parsonage. Two hundred pastors and schoolmasters were lost to the Reformed Church in a few years, and those who remained had to serve three or more parishes. Many of the Reformed ministers were imprisoned, merely at the complaint of the monks, and the French commandant at Ebernburg formed a court through his own Confessor, before which the Reformed ministers and teachers, arrested on the slightest charges, had to buy their release with a piece of gold. The various members of the Reformed consistory were scattered. It had dwindled down to two men. One of them, Salmuth, lived at distant Nuremberg, too far away to give aid; the other, John Lewis Fabricius, had been compelled to flee to Frankford.

Professor Fabricius, the rector of the university, deserves special mention for his constancy and self-denying devotion to the Reformed Church of the Palatinate. When the French armies began to threaten Heidelberg, he saw that they had broken all pledges, and he could no longer protect the Reformed, and that there was danger that they would take him as rector of the university to France as a hostage. So he asked the canton of Schaffhausen in Switzerland, where he was born and of which he was a citizen, to intercede for him with the French King and get him a safe conduct, so that he could leave Heidelberg. He was fortunate in getting it and being able to leave Heidelberg just before the French came in 1689, or they would have taken him prisoner, as they did his colleague, Frederick Mieg and other Reformed pastors. He went to Frankford and then to Schaffhausen, to thank that city for saving him from the French. He was received in Switzerland with great honor; Professor Heidegger of Zurich, his friend, coming to Schaffhausen to meet him. And when he went to Zurich, he was welcomed by Antistes Klingler, in a speech which compared him to a second Peter, escaped from prison. The Elector having asked him to return to Heidelberg, after the French had left in 1689, he again assumed control of the Reformed Church. About this time he received a flattering call to be professor of theology at Leyden, but although he would have liked to go there, he refused it for the sake of the suffering



PROFESSOR JOHN LEWIS FABRICIUS.

Church of the Palatinate, especially since she had been deprived of her best ministers. When the French again threatened Heidelberg, he retired to Eberbach, and then to Frankford, all the while managing for the Elector, the affairs of the Reformed Church. "That the Reformed Church," says his biographer, Professor Heidegger, "did not go out of existence during this troublesome period; was due to the untiring labors and great zeal of Fabricius." For a while he labored with no compensation, and when he could no longer raise funds for the support of the Reformed ministers and school teachers, he made an appeal to his friends in Switzerland, who raised annual collections, 1692-97. Meanwhile the Romish bishop of Vienna tried to entice him to come to Vienna, so as to extort concessions from him (as head of the Reformed Church of the Palatinate), that would weaken that Church, but he refused to go to Vienna. So the bishop traveled all the way to Heidelberg to meet him, but Fabricius would make no concessions, and the Romish schemer had to retire without having accomplished any of his plans. When the French again threatened Heidelberg in 1693, he gathered the archives of the university and of the Reformed Church together, and left the city, May 8. The next day he returned, in order to save the university library, but had to go away without it. His own library he sacrificed to save the archives of the university and of the Reformed Church. Had he waited ten days later, he would have

been shut up in Heidelberg to suffer all the atrocities of the French. He first went to Eberbach, and then to Frankford, whither he brought the archives. And then, as he did not feel quite safe there with them, he took them to Marburg for greater safety. He immediately began to organize the University of Heidelberg at Frankford, to show the enemies that the Reformed were not dismayed, and that the Reformed Church of the Palatinate had not perished. He might have had many good reasons for giving up his position. The churches lay in ruins, the people were scattered, the new Elector was hostile and aiding the Jesuits who were coming into the land from all sides. His friends in Switzerland invited him to spend the remaining years of his life with them. But so much the more did he feel it his duty to remain with the oppressed Reformed Church of the Palatinate. None or all of these influences could move him from his post of duty. To Heidegger he wrote, "I have made up my mind to hold out and devote what there is left of my life to the welfare of the Church of the Palatinate, however dejected it may be, lest it fall into the power of the monks." Noble man! he deserves a memorial from the Reformed, for standing in the breach when she was threatened with destruction. We in America have him to thank for giving the Reformed Church of the Palatinate continuity of existence, so that out of that church might come the daughter Church of the United States.

The Reformed pastor of Manheim, Schmidmann, also deserves special mention, for he did not desert his congregation, even when the town was entirely destroyed. He preached in the ruins and divided his last crust with his brethren in the faith.

Finally the terrible war which had all the horrors of the Thirty Years' War and more put into nine years, came to an end with the Peace of Ryswick, October, 1697. By it King Louis XIV. had to renounce his claims to the Palatinate, which was given back to the Elector. The Reformed churches were given back to them, and religious toleration was to be granted to all. But then came that fatal clause which embittered all the joy of the Reformed—the fourth article of the peace. Suddenly before the close of the negotiations on the night of October 29, at the last moment, the French diplomat sprang an amendment on them which annulled all the peace, as far as it touched the religion of the Palatinate.* This clause then meant nothing less than that all changes made by the French during this war, were to be made permanent, and as they had taken a good many churches from the Reformed, these were to remain Catholic. This clause had immediate reference to twenty-nine churches west of the Rhine, in the district of Germersheim, which the King of France had endowed or bought. But it was soon evident

* The clause says, "And in those places which the crown of France gave to their former owners, the Catholic religion should remain in the same condition in which it is at present."

that the clause was to have a much larger application. For in 1699 the French diplomat, Chauvois, brought forward a list of the churches which numbered not twenty-nine, but were in 1922 places, the greater part of which belonged to the Palatinate. If this had been carried out, the Palatinate Reformed Church would have received its death blow. This clause in the Ryswick peace caused bickerings and strife down to the middle of the next century, and was an apple of discord among the German states for forty years. The French had virtually destroyed the Reformed Church west of the Rhine, and this clause was to be interpreted so as to destroy it on the east bank. Under cover of it, all sorts of indignities were perpetrated against the Reformed. In Germersheim the Reformed lost not only their churches, but religious liberty. Still this peace had one good result. It closed the war and gave the country a chance to recover prosperity. And soon King Louis XIV. passed away, to render an account of his cruelties to a greater King than himself. But the Nemesis of Providence followed him. He devastated Heidelberg in 1693, and just a century later, in 1793, his body, with others of his line, was torn from the vault of the St. Denis church, at Paris.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION IV.

THE PERSECUTION IN ZWEIBRUECKEN.

The county of Zweibrücken, another of the Palatinate lands, also suffered during these wars, but its sufferings took place before 1688. Its greatest sufferings were during the wars of the Reunions, because the French claimed that land, as it had once belonged to Metz, which was then a part of France. In 1673 Marshal Turenne marched from Holland with a French army through Zweibrücken, to fall on the Palatinate. And another army, under Marquis de Rochefort, robbed the country on the other side of the Rhine. All business ceased. Every one was in anxiety. These troops did not care from what land they filled their magazines. In vain did the Duke of Zweibrücken remind them of his neutrality. The years of 1675 and 1676 were especially terrible years. On January 1 Count Choiseul appeared with four thousand men before the town of Zweibrücken. The Reformed had gathered in the Alexander church to pray to God, but their devotions had hardly begun, when the news came that the French were near. They went out to man the walls, together with the few soldiers who were there. The French Count asked to be allowed to

march through the city, as Turenne had done before him, but as the Duke was absent from the city, at Meisenheim, the magistrates did not feel as though they could grant the request. So Count Choiseul began to bombard the city. The citizens finally surrendered, after the French had given the promise that no oppressions would take place. But the citizens soon found themselves fooled. Instead of marching through, the French forces remained a whole summer, and laid heavy contributions on the inhabitants for their support. General Commissioner Lecolle daily brought forward new claims on them. He first took away all the Ducal property. During all the summer he compelled the most prominent citizens to build outworks. When the news came at the end of October that a German army approached, he dammed up the Erbach and Gorn, and filled the valley with water, and so awaited them. As he did not trust the citizens, he took them from their houses, and forced them all into the Alexander church. There they sat, watched by the soldiers. The German army bombarded the town, December 2, 1676, for nine hours. Flames broke out, and threatened to destroy the town. The citizens, in the meanwhile, trembled in the church for their homes, but they lifted up their hearts to God, men, women and children crying together. They heard the thunder of the cannon and the crackling of the flames, and yet had to remain. It was no longer their property, but their lives,

about which they were anxious. They expected every moment, that they would be buried under the ruins of the church. Finally all became still. They then found themselves permitted to go out to their homes; but what a sight to them in the darkness of the night! Their houses were on fire, the half of the town was in ashes. They had no shelter, no comfort except to tell their woes to their Lord. In the following year, 1677, the French army went away, because the German army approached, but they determined to leave the district a waste. They set fire to houses and villages. From Hagenau to Kusel 420 towns and villages were destroyed, and no man was allowed to rebuild or replant his field for three years under penalty of death. The Count of Bissy determined to destroy all the public buildings at Zweibrücken city and take all the property possible to France. Two hundred men were appointed to carry out his plans. They were stationed along the streets, and at a given signal they broke into the houses and compelled the inhabitants to go into the Alexander church, so that they might despoil the homes in their absence. Then the soldiers entered the public buildings and the castle, and took away the archives of the city and the library and sent them to Metz. When all was taken out of the ducal buildings, they went into the homes of the citizens, and broke open the chests and closets. The whole town was full of wagons which they had gathered from the surrounding country, even as far as Lor-

rairie. These were to take away the plunder. When all was taken, they left the poor people out of the church, where they had been trembling for their lives, and been imprisoned fourteen hours without anything to eat. Then Count Bissy gave the soldiers permission to gather up what was left in the ducal palace. With a shout of joy they went at it. No vault was unbroken, no nail in the wall which they did not pull out. The church was plundered and the ducal vault was opened and robbed a second time. The bodies they tore out of the coffins, and they also tore the lead from the coffins, and left the bodies lying in the church. Then he gave command to finish their work by burning the city. All the walls and public buildings were burned as well as the new castle. One hundred and forty houses were burned, and only 355 families left in the town. Then they blew up the beautiful tower of the Alexander church, which fell on the main part of the church, and broke in the roof and the beautiful vault, so that only the four walls of the church remained standing, and they were filled with rubbish. Then the French left. In 1679 the Nymweg Peace brought hope to their hearts, and the Reformed held a thanksgiving service again in the ruined Alexander church, which lasted ten hours. But in December, 1679, the French demanded by what right their Count ruled the land, and as he would not appear before their court of the Reunions, the French came again and garrisoned the town of Zweibrücken.

And now new religious persecutions were added to their other woes. The consistory was dissolved. The Classes could not be held. The ministers' salaries were lessened. And when one died or left, his place was not filled. Jesuits came into the land to take their places, but they found their work of converting the Reformed more difficult than they expected. They called the Reformed people to mass, and no one came. The priests went from town to town, but with no result, and finally appealed to the French commander, who passed new regulations. He declared the Romish religion to be the religion of the state, and that no one could hold office unless a Catholic. In the villages the Reformed were ill treated, until they went to mass. The second pastor at Zweibrücken, Kessler, was deposed, because he was charged with having given expression from the pulpit of a hope that the German Count would return as ruler of the land. And the first pastor, Mollenthal, had to pay 500 livres as a fine, to be given to a Catholic parsonage, because he had given the Lord's Supper to a man (and baptized his child) who had formerly been Catholic. The Alexander church was such a complete ruin that it could not be used for church services. In the least injured chapel of it an unfortunate family lived whose house had been burned down, and who could find no other refuge. In the choir, which was still a little covered, others had sought to protect their small store of hay and straw against the storm. Many huts

were built just around the church by those whose houses had been burned. All else in the town was in ruins. The Catholics were allowed to set up an altar in the church where they had service, and they formed a plan by which they would get the control of the whole church. The commander was favorable to them, but did not know how to get the means to put the church in repair, so they could use it. So leaving the Reformed under the false idea that it was to be rebuilt for them, he ordered each of them to give a free-will offering to rebuild it, but that was not enough. Then they raised collections in foreign lands, as the Palatinate, Isenburg, Strassburg and Switzerland. Pastor Salbach went to Holland and there raised so much money that it was not necessary for him to go to England for more. All then went to work. The inhabitants of the whole district helped to get the rubbish out of the church and to bring building material. In all haste they made the contract with the builder before the French Intendant knew it. He expected that they would not be able to raise enough money, and he would have to call on the King of France to help. This would give the King a claim on the building. Being disappointed when they raised as much as they needed, he now offered them 5,000 livres to be allowed to build a chapel, if they would allow Romish worship in it too. When the Reformed refused this, he decreed that their agreement with their builder was illegal, and ordered that the Reformed give up to him

within twenty-four hours the money they had collected. He then gave the building of it to a builder who would act with him and the Catholics. (The church was finally finished in 1689.) Great had been the offerings of the Reformed, and great was their surprise to find their wishes subverted. For the Catholics held services in the church, and the commandant brought so many difficulties in the way of their worship, that they were glad to give up the church and worship in the library hall, where they had worshipped before, when the church was not fit to be used. Finally the Peace of Ryswick broke the French power and gave the land to Sweden, which sent a governor. The Alexander church was given back to the Reformed, and now the Catholics had to worship in the library hall. The Reformed held a thanksgiving service in the church. The Swedes declared that they did not recognize the fatal fourth article of the Peace of Ryswick, for they said that peace was not made with them, but with the Germans, so the Catholics were ordered out of the church. But now notice their trickery. The Swedish governor had a French tutoress. Through her the Romanists labored to influence him, so their departure from the church was delayed until Charles XII. was defeated and the matter forgotten. As a result they continued to retain the choir. And now came new injustice to the Reformed. The Swedes were Lutherans, and the commander ordered that the Lutherans should use the church with the Reformed, until they

built a church. The ruler introduced Lutheran service into the Reformed churches. And where there was hardly a Lutheran in the village, the place would still receive a Lutheran minister and schoolmaster, who were paid out of the Reformed funds. In the Reformed gymnasium at Zweibrücken, as at other gymnasia, Lutheran teachers were placed. Because Reformed funds were thus misused, some of their pastorates became vacant, and their places were filled with Lutherans. In vain did the Reformed ministers present a memorial against this in 1704. Finally an agreement was reached between the Lutherans and the Reformed in 1720, by which the Reformed were given their property, although the Lutherans were given religious liberty to labor anywhere in the land. In 1793, a century after, the French army again took Zweibrücken, and the Reformed became afraid, lest they would again lose their worship. But Bonaparte soon gained control of the French republic, and religious freedom was given to all. The town was made the seat of a consistory, but with the fall of Napoleon the land fell back to Germany.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION V.

COUNTESS GERTRUDE OF BENTHEIM.*

At the time of the persecutions of the Palatinate, another persecution is to be noted, which, although it did not occur in any of the Palatinate lands, was not far from the territory of Pfalz Neuburg on the northern Rhine. In the northwestern part of Germany, on the borders of Holland, lay the little county of Bentheim. Count Ernest William of Bentheim married a lady of Holland who did not by birth belong to the nobility. She succeeded, however, in getting the Bishop of Munster to intercede for her with the Emperor, and get him to grant her a patent, by which she was elevated to the nobility, so that her children might become heirs to the county. But the bishop, who was a Catholic, expected some return for this favor, and seized on the very first opportunity to get it. Her husband was of a weak, pliable nature, and the bishop determined to convert him to Rome. At the beginning of August, 1668, her husband went to the funeral of his brother at Steinfurt, which lay only a few miles away from Munster. The Bishop of Munster had heard that he

* For fuller accounts of the female characters mentioned in this book, see the Reformed Church Magazine, 1894-95, published at Reading, Pa.

was there, and garrisoned the roads between Steinfurt and Bentheim, intending to compel him to go with him to Munster, so that he might urge him into the Romish faith. When he had forced the Count to go to Munster, he plied him with arguments and pressed him with influences, so that he very soon went over to the Romish faith.

The news of his conversion soon came to Bentheim, and caused great anxiety. Countess Gertrude at once sent her four oldest sons to Holland, so as to be safe from Romish influences, and her babe she had baptized in the Reformed faith. The Reformed ministers at once held a special meeting of their Classis, and appealed to the Elector of Brandenburg to protect them. At this meeting the Reformed Church of Bentheim chose a seal, which represented the Church as a ship in which Christ and his disciples are on the stormy sea, with the inscription under it, "Lord save us, we perish." The Bishop of Munster then tried to get possession of the castle at Bentheim by trickery. He sent soldiers to ask in the name of the Count that it be delivered up to him. The Countess bravely refused to do this, unless the Count would come and in person ask that it be done, for she suspected that it was a trick on the part of the bishop. Then the bishop came with 4,000 soldiers to take it. She would have defended it to the death, if some one had not turned traitor and given the bishop a key, by which he entered one of the gates. When the enemy entered, she rushed from her

apartments to go and defend the gates. But she was too late, and the castle fell into the hands of the enemy. When the next day, which was Sunday, the Reformed wanted to hold services as usual in the castle chapel, they found that they were not permitted to have service, and the Jesuits had mass instead. The Bishop of Munster having captured her castle, now tried to convert her to Romanism, as he had done her husband. But he found her immovable. She was a stronger fortress than Bentheim itself, "for the Lord was her rock and her fortress." Having failed in persuasion, they now used threats to her. She was told her husband would not be allowed to see her unless she became a Romanist, but still she refused. She was then taken under a guard of soldiers to Munster, where every effort was made to force her to Rome. Most of her servants were taken away. They even threatened to take away from her her young babe, unless she would order her sons in Holland to return to her, so that they might be educated in the Romish faith. But though she had lost her husband, and was threatened with the loss of her babe, she still remained steadfast. Finding persuasion and threats of no avail, they now used force and compelled her to sign a paper which they sent to Holland asking that country to send her children back to her. When the paper was brought before her to sign, she expostulated with the Munster councillor about the wickedness of such deception, but she received the Jesuitic answer, "Right or

wrong, it must be done." So she had no other alternative but to sign. Fortunately the Dutch government was aware of the manner in which she was treated, and refused to deliver up her children. Suddenly one day, when the mayor of the city with whom she was imprisoned, was away at a wedding, she escaped with her babe over the borders into Holland, where the States General gave her protection.

Meanwhile the Reformed of Bentheim had to suffer severe persecutions. The Reformed officials at the court were dismissed, and Romish officers appointed in their stead. Her court preacher, Sartorius, was transported over the border of the land by soldiers. The Reformed pastor at Neuenhaus was imprisoned, and the pastor at Schuttorf was put out of the parsonage. Part of the Reformed endowments were taken from them and given to the Jesuits. The Reformed ministers who had advised her to send away her children, or who kept up correspondence with her in Holland, were banished or imprisoned. The whole country groaned under the quarterings, the marches and the levyings of the Bishop of Munster. Holland, Brandenburg and Hesse-Cassel took up her cause in the German courts, but in vain. To add to her troubles, the Bishop of Munster in 1678 pronounced her divorced from her husband and then married him to a Romish Princess. And to cap the climax, the Emperor in 1679 issued an order depriving her of her rank as a

noble. Thus she was shut out entirely from the succession to the county of Bentheim. When her husband died, he disowned her children and left the county to his Romish brother. Thus she lost, for the sake of her Reformed faith, her husband and her land, but she shines in history as one of the brightest examples of constancy yet revealed by the Reformed of Germany. She was so completely broken down by the persecutions, sufferings and disappointments, that she died in 1679—a martyr for her faith. But by the ordering of Providence, the Catholic line of the rulers of Bentheim died out in 1803, and her descendent now sits on the throne of Bentheim.

CHAPTER III.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL REIGN OF TERROR.

The wars of the Palatinate were over, but the persecutions of the Reformed were not over. Their enemies, the French, were driven out, and yet their greatest enemies remained—the Elector and the Jesuits. On the heels of the oppressions of war came others more insidious. The persecutions of peace are harder to resist than those of war. Ecclesiastical oppressions now took the place of political. The latter had lasted only nine years, but these lasted for a century. For a hundred years Pope, Priest and Prince united themselves against the Reformed.

SECTION I.

ELECTOR JOHN WILLIAM (1690-1716) AND THE SIMULTANEOUS WORSHIP.

Elector John William had refused to protect the Reformed during the French wars, because he said he could not. Now, however, that the French had gone, he threw off the mask, and said he would not. He was a much more bigoted man than the previous Elector, having been educated by the Jesuits, who now used him as their tool. He came to the Palatinate in June, 1698.

On October 29, 1698, he issued an edict, which would have been a death-blow to the Reformed. It ordered, that all the Reformed churches be thrown open to the Catholics for their worship. It was called the *Simultaneum*, because it ordered the simultaneous worship of the three religions. The Elector claimed that he did it under the specious plea of religious toleration, because it opened the Reformed churches to all three confessions, Lutheran and Catholic, as well as Reformed. But this was only a feint, to draw attention from his real purpose, which was to gain control of the Reformed churches for the Catholics. His plea was a false one, for it did not open a single Romish church to Reformed worship. It was, therefore, most unjust. This edict opened two hundred and forty Reformed churches to the Catholics. This *Simultaneum* was introduced by the Romanists seizing the Reformed church at Weinheim, where the Elector had his capital, as Heidelberg was not yet fit to be inhabited. Although Heidelberg was buried in ruins, the Elector ordered the Jesuits to open the church of the Holy Ghost, where they held services amid rain and mud. At Stromberg they drove the Reformed out of the church, and arrested a Reformed pastor for taking a crucifix off the pulpit, while Electoral dragoons robbed his property. In many places the Reformed resisted the edict. At Sachsenflur the dragoons entered the church by force. The congregation, who refused to give up the keys, were fined 100

thalers, and the women who had been especially prominent in their opposition, were put into the pillory. When it was found that the Reformed, who were imprisoned in some places, strengthened themselves with their Heidelberg Catechism, it was taken away.* Fabricius boldly entered complaint against the confiscation of the Reformed church at Weinheim. Although it did not lead to the restoration of that church, it had one good effect; it led to the re-organization of the Reformed consistory. Wiedenbach was appointed lay member and Achenbach a ministerial member. In 1699 the Elector drove out the French refugees who had found an asylum in the Palatinate under Elector Charles. On June 31, 1699, he appointed a commission, partly Romanist and partly Reformed, to take charge of the alms and other affairs of the Reformed church. This was a violation of the rights of the Reformed, whose interests were in the hands of the consistory. The famous, or rather infamous, Quad, a Reformed proselyte to Rome, played an important part in this commission against the Reformed. Thus they aimed to take not only the Reformed churches, but the Reformed funds were placed under the control of this commission. The commission decided that the Reformed should have five-sevenths and the Romanists two-sevenths of the income. This was

* An upper judge in Germersheim said of them: "These Reformed are like brook-willows. When they are cut and broken down, they spring up again fresh and strong." So said Jeremiah, 17: 7-8.

unjust, because all belonged originally to the Reformed. As two-sevenths were used by the Catholics, the Reformed received so much less money. Fifty ministers had to leave because they could not get their salaries. And yet in spite of all these oppressions, it is wonderful how the Reformed clung to their faith. Many gave up home and friends rather than give up their faith, and emigrated to the western world. No instance is given where they attempted to return the personal indignities to them. Persecution did its sanctifying work among them. And the Church since the days of Elector Frederick III. was not in such a good moral or spiritual condition.

But their condition daily became more deplorable outwardly, and finally as a last step they appealed to the Elector of Brandenburg and the Protestant States. Like an angel of mercy he stepped in. But for his intercession the Reformed Church would have been entirely suppressed. Complaints came to the Protestant States at Ratisbon that children of mixed marriages (where one parent was Catholic) were forced to become Catholics, even if the marriage contract specified that they should become Reformed. The pastor of Ingelheim, who had allowed a Catholic wife and a Reformed young man, whose dead father had been a Catholic, to commune, had dragoons quartered on him and suffered fines. At Guntheim, near Alzei, a girl eighteen years of age, the child of a mixed marriage (the marriage contract made her Reformed), was so whipped with rods

by the Catholic priest that she became sick. In many places, if the Reformed women as much as knit stockings on Romish feast days, they were fined. These are some illustrations of the terrorism used to force the Reformed into the Romish Church.

The Evangelical States addressed a protest to the Elector. He replied, January 26, 1699, saying that there was no oppression, but only the largest toleration, for had he not opened all the Reformed churches to all denominations? So under the plea of religious toleration, he continued his oppressions. But the Evangelical states were not blinded by this. They were now joined by Sweden, and a Prussian and a Swedish ambassador appeared in the Palatinate in July, 1699. They were however not able to do anything, except to hear new complaints of oppressions there. The Elector's officials always evaded the real point. Meanwhile the difficulties of the Reformed increased. The Reformed consistory was almost broken up in 1700. The faithful Fabricius died, 1696, Wiedenbach was dismissed, and Achenbach, after being dismissed, accepted a call to be court preacher of the King of Prussia, and only Heiles and Hauser, together with the aged Secretary, Kreuz, remained. Dragonnades, which had been common in Germersheim, Neustadt and Lautern, now began to be carried on in all parts of the land. It looked as if the Reformed were about to suffer in the Palatinate, as the Reformed in France had suffered fifteen

years before. And it looked as if the Reformed would be driven out of the Palatinate, as they had been out of France. Many of the Protestants were brought to beggary, many put in prison and made to subsist on bread and water without being permitted to see the light of day.

Finally the Prussian ambassador, dissatisfied with the evasions of the Elector, gave an ultimatum, and left Heidelberg in 1700. The Evangelical States now appealed from the Elector to the Emperor, who, in 1703, appointed a commission to examine into the complaints. But the commission was largely Catholic and partisan, and besides the Catholic members of it did not agree with the Protestant. Finally Prussia, feeling that there was no hope for justice through the commission or the Elector, or the Emperor, began to fight fire with fire, and retaliate. "Indeed," says a writer, "if the King of Prussia had not been so persistent, all must have been given up for which our fathers suffered so much." The King of Prussia threatened the Romish priests of Halberstadt, Magdeburg and Minden, that he would take away part of their endowments and restrict their worship, if within six weeks they did not intercede with the Elector of the Palatinate, and have the persecutions in the Palatinate stopped. The head of the Capuchins at Halberstadt set out quickly to remonstrate with the Catholic States at Ratisbon, but it had no effect. The King again warned them. Finding all his warnings of no avail, he took possession of the

Romish convents and churches at Halberstadt, Minden and Magdeburg. This brought matters to a crisis. The Emperor sent a warning note to both the Elector of the Palatinate and the Elector of Brandenburg. Negotiations began, but at first the Elector of the Palatinate was unwilling to yield. Meanwhile the Emperor of Germany died, and the bigoted Leopold was succeeded by the more enlightened Francis Joseph I. He issued an edict, November 21, 1705, which granted the Reformed in the Palatinate religious liberty. No children of mixed marriages were to be forced into the Romish Church. If there was no marriage agreement, they were to be brought up in the faith of their father. No one was to be compelled to bow the knee to the host, or to abstain from work on a Romish feast day, or be forced to Romish service. It ordered the simultaneous worship to be done away with, and the Reformed to receive back their churches again.* The Reformed faculty in the university was revived, but now to it a Catholic faculty was added. This was in direct opposition to the Halle Recess, which promised that the university should ever remain Reformed. The last Re-

* But there was this modifying clause, that where there were two churches in a town, the Reformed were to have one and the Romanists the other. Where there was only one church, a wall was to be built through it, and the Reformed were to have the nave, while the Catholics had the choir. Thus the Church of the Holy Ghost at Heidelberg had its famous division wall erected in 1705, which gave the nave to the Reformed and the choir to the Catholics. It ordered that of the revenues, two-sevenths should go to the Catholics.

formed professors had been Fabricius, who died 1696, and then Achenbach, who was professor when the university was at Weinheim, before Heidelberg was rebuilt, but there had been no Reformed professor for five years, as he left 1700. So the Elector in 1706 appointed J. Ch. Kirchmeyer, Pastoir and Lewis Christian Mieg, Reformed professors. In all this we see a compromise which was unfair toward the Reformed. The Catholics gained possession of at least part of all the Reformed churches in the Palatinate, and of two-sevenths of their funds, to which the Romanists had not the slightest claim. (When Rome gets hold of anything, she never gives up her grip on it.) And yet the Reformed, persecuted as they were, were glad to make concessions, so that they might get liberty to worship again. While, however, they gained a large part of their rights, they still lost ground. For in many places where they received back the churches again, they had not the ability to send them pastors, or keep up religious service. Yet on the other hand the Romanists were strong and wealthy, and used every opportunity. In many places, as Mosbach and Ladenburg, where, according to the edict, the leading church should have been given to the Reformed, they never received possession of it. And the mixed commission which the Elector had appointed, did not always carry out the decree. For the Romanists were in the majority in it, and the renegades, Quad and Rittmeyer, used every opportunity against the

Reformed. Often the church revenues were so divided, that the five-sevenths of the Reformed and the two-sevenths of the Catholics were about equal. According to the fourth article of the Ryswick peace, one-third of all the Reformed funds were lost to them. The endowments of Hordt, Selz, Klingenmunster and Germersheim were in the hands of the Catholics. The Elector also gave the rich convent of Neuburg, opposite Heidelberg, which had belonged to the Reformed, to the Catholics. Finally, in 1617, Elector John William died, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles Phillip.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION II.

ELECTOR CHARLES PHILLIP (1716-1742) AND THE 80TH QUESTION OF THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM.

The Reformed got rid of one enemy, only to receive a worse one. Elector Charles Phillip was, like his brother, a bigot, but a soldier, too, and therefore would brook no disobedience from his inferiors. He had been educated for the priesthood, but had been permitted by the Pope to exchange the priest's robe for the soldier's coat. He soon revealed his arbitrary character. For three years at the beginning of his reign he did not get to Heidelberg, as he was governor at Innsbruck in the Tyrol, and he did not arrive at Heidelberg till November 4, 1718. But he had not been there a month, before he began to take steps to get the whole control of the Church of the Holy Ghost for the Catholics. He startled the Reformed by issuing two edicts against them in 1719. The first was on April 24, when he forbade the use of the Heidelberg Catechism. The Jesuits had called his attention to the 80th question of the Heidelberg Catechism, especially the last clause, which designated the mass as "an accursed idolatry."*

* This answer had been attacked by the Jesuits in the Palatinate as early as 1688. For a long time they had insisted that a book using such strong language against Romish doctrines should not be permitted in the Palatinate.

For a new edition of the Catechism had appeared (1718), bearing, as usual, the Electoral coat of arms on the title page with the words under it, "By order of his Electoral Highness." The Jesuits reminded him of the inconsistency of publishing, with his sanction and bearing his coat of arms, a book which slandered his own faith. He therefore issued the decree ordering the Catechism to be confiscated, and if it were still used, imposing a fine of ten florins. He issued this decree without giving any notice to the Reformed consistory—indeed did not give them official notice till May 2, when he repeated his decree. He ordered that Bibles and psalm books be taken from the Reformed. The consistory heard of the edict with alarm, and hastened to call a Synod of the Reformed ministers. They met and sent an explanation of the 80th question to the Elector, hoping that then he would permit the use of the Catechism. They reminded him that this old creed, published as long as a century and a half before, had never been forbidden by any diet or peace of the empire. They also reminded him that even his Romish predecessors had permitted its use. As

But Gurtler and Fabricius defended the Catechism then. Again in 1690 the Jesuits published tracts against it. Lenfant answered them so vigorously in his book entitled "The Innocence of the Heidelberg Catechism," that his friends advised him to leave the land, and he went to Berlin. In 1707 Rittmeyer, the Reformed proselyte to Catholicism, attacked it and was answered by Professors Mieg and Kirchmeyer. Rittmeyer replied, charging it with 25 untruths, to which they replied that the untruths were truths. The controversy was then stopped by the Elector, who did not like to have anything written against the Jesuits.

far as the 80th question was concerned, it was no more severe than the clauses of the Romish creeds, or of the council of Trent, or the damning clause of Pope Pius IV. They also explained that in teaching the Heidelberg Catechism, they did not apply that answer to persons, but to doctrines, and between condemning persons and condemning doctrines there was a great difference. They plead with the Elector not to take away their creed, or to alter it by leaving out the 80th answer, as that would separate them from the other Reformed churches. In addition, they reminded him that the edition of 1718 had been published, not by themselves, but by a bookseller who was a Catholic, and who had done so according to the permission given twenty years before, in 1699. Professors Mieg and Kirchmeyer tried to still further influence the Elector, but he was inflexible. The officials of the Elector were ordered to seize all copies of the Catechism. As a result persecution broke out against the Reformed, especially in the district of Germersheim. They began forcing the Reformed to Catholic ceremonies, and to celebrate Catholic feast days, and forced children of mixed marriages to the Romish faith. No Reformed bridegroom was allowed to marry a Romish bride, without promising that the children should be trained in the Romish faith. But the Elector capped the climax by another edict, severe in itself, but coming on the heels of the other, it meant destruction to the Reformed. It was the taking away of

the Church of the Holy Ghost at Heidelberg, the church that had always stood as the representative of the Reformed faith. On August 29 he summoned the Reformed consistory before him and ordered them to peaceably give the Catholics the nave as well as the choir, which they had already. He claimed that the church was a court church, because it was a burial-place of the Princes, and as he was Catholic, it ought to be of his faith; and he said that old Prince Rupert, who built it in the 15th century, had built it for a Romish church, and he now wanted it to be such. He further told them that if they would not give it up peaceably, he would take it by force. Surprise and consternation appeared on the faces of the Reformed consistory when they heard this command. They felt the request was very unjust, because the Catholics did not need churches. They had only one-third of the population in Heidelberg, and yet had seven churches, when the Reformed had only two. In their reply of August 30 they reminded him that the Holy Ghost church had never been a court church, but had always been a city church for the people, and not for the court. As to the Elector's desire to have it for a burial-place, they reminded him that the Romanists already had the use of the choir, which was the part of the church where the Princes were buried. As to his plea that the Catholics ought to have it, because Prince Rupert built it to be a Romish church, that argument would open all the Protestant churches of

Germany that had been built before the reformation, to the Catholics. Of course they also reminded the Elector that the previous treaties of 1648, 1685 and 1705 had all acknowledged the right of the Reformed to the church, and that the last Elector, himself a Romanist, had made no opposition. But the Elector appointed September 4 as the date when the church must be given up by them or taken from them. On the morning of that day the consistory appeared before the court and refused to give the church up. They locked the church and barricaded the doors from within, but the enemy got hold of the watchmaker, who had a key to the public city clock on the church. This key gave them an entrance to the tower, from which they descended into the church by ropes. Having gotten within, they opened the doors of the church, and the president of the court and the commander of the city went in. They placed fanatical Catholic Tyrolese soldiers at the door as guards. Then they began tearing down the division wall that separated the choir of the Romanists from the nave of the Reformed, so that the Romanists might have it all. The president of the Electoral Council gave the first stroke, and thus in the name of the Elector sanctioned the high-handed proceeding. The church was then dedicated to Romish worship by the Archbishop of Treves. This was only the beginning of greater Jesuit designs, for that same week the Reformed churches at Wisloch and Schluchtern were taken

from them by force, and the Simultaneum began in other parts of the land. A cry of horror went up from the Reformed, who felt that all this was only the beginning of dragonnades, like those in France against the Reformed. If the Elector could take the leading church, he could take any other. The Reformed at Heidelberg were now in a worse condition than under the previous Elector. They had no place to worship, and had to go to the open square called the Monk's court (Mönchhof), where they built a pulpit in the wall.* They there held service in the open air, but were even forbidden to do that. Hannani, the Reformed pastor, together with many of the citizens, went to the Elector at Schwetzingen to intercede, but in vain. Nothing now remained for the Reformed but to appeal to the Protestant States of the empire at Ratisbon. These at once took up the matter with great activity. Prussia and Hesse-Cassel had already protested against the suppression of the Catechism. The oppressions of the Palatinate now became a European matter. Four ambassadors—Prussian, Dutch, Hessian and English—appeared at Heidelberg to protest against the Elector's decrees. The Elector simply denied any injustice to the Reformed, but the ambassadors soon experienced it themselves, for some of their own servants had to kneel before the Catholic host in the streets.

* Located near the foot of the Münchgasse leading from the Carlplatz to the Neckar.

Finally the Protestant States decided that the only way to bring the Romanists to terms, would be to make reprisals, as Prussia had done in 1705. But now the other Protestant nations joined Prussia. Hesse-Cassel closed the Romish church at St. Goar and Langenschwalbach. King George of England closed the Romish church at Celle. The King of Prussia closed the cathedral at Minden and sequestered the cloisters at Halberstadt, until the Elector would open the Church of the Holy Ghost to the Reformed. These severe measures soon began to have an influence on the Elector.* When the Elector learned that there would be a decree of the Emperor against him, he declared that he would give back the Church of the Holy Ghost to the Reformed ; but if he did so, he would forever leave Heidelberg and make his capital at Mannheim. He would break down the Neckar bridge, which had been the pride of Heidelberg for ages, and leave Heidelberg to become a country town, with grass growing in the streets. The Reformed people of Heidelberg nobly refused to give up their faith, even if they lost the presence of their Prince. So he issued a decree, February 29, 1720, giving back the Church of the Holy Ghost to the

* And yet at the very moment when these things were taking place, a servant of the Dutch ambassador at Heidelberg met the procession bearing the host through the street, and was followed by two Jesuit students and a soldier into a house, because he would not lift his hat to it. The students were finally punished, but it led to a decree allowing any one who met the pnyx and did not want to kneel to it, the privilege of turning into a neighboring house or of going down another street.

Reformed and allowing the Heidelberg Catechism to be used conditionally for a while.* The Elector appointed a mixed commission of four, two of them Reformed, but one of them, Professor Thylus, was at heart with the Romanists. But this commission never did anything, and finally fell of its own weight in 1728. On April 19 the division wall of the Holy Ghost Church was rebuilt, and the Reformed again took possession of the nave. The commission, after long deliberations, decided, May 10, 1721, that the Catechism should be printed without change, provided the Reformed declared that the 80th answer referred only to doctrine and not to persons, and that the Electoral arms on the front page and the words "with the Elector's permission" be left out. In 1723 the Classes, which had been discontinued under Elector John William, were again held, although they had a hard existence, for they met in the ministers' houses, not in the churches. This was done after the old Church Order was reprinted in 1720 at the expense of the ministers. The Elector carried into effect his threat and moved his capital to Mannheim, thus leaving a city that for six centuries had been the capital of his ancestors. He began building a magnificent capital at Mannheim, laying out the city, as at present, in squares. It became a fine place of residence, but he failed to make it a town of manufac-

* The confiscated copies were given back to them, but the fines which sometimes whole congregations, sometimes individuals, had to pay, remained in the treasury of the Elector, and their return was not to be thought of.

tures. The Reformed consistory were to drive down there three times a week for their meeting, which proved by and by impossible.

But all was not peace yet. The Jesuits endeavored to gain something, even by their defeats. The Protestants expected that everything would be given back, as it had been restored at the close of the Thirty Years' War. But instead, the Elector made 1714 the normal year, and between 1648 and 1714 many changes had taken place in favor of the Catholics. The Reformed, therefore, would lose very much by this arrangement. The Evangelical States declared this decision of the Elector unsatisfactory, and sent John Von der Reck, a Hanoverian statesman, as their ambassador to the Palatinate. The Elector became very angry at this, and under severe penalties forbade his subjects from having anything to do with a foreigner on the subject of religion. This put the Reformed in a still more awkward position. For it broke the connection between the Reformed consistory and its defender, the Evangelical States, whose representative Reck was. The citizens were so afraid of this decree, that their fear became ridiculous, for they would not even sell Reck any medicine without an order from the Elector.

Meanwhile as the result of the Elector's decree, making 1714 the normal year, instead of 1648, new oppression arose. The Reformed soldiers had to kneel before the host, and Protestants were not allowed to turn their faces

to the windows of the houses, away from the host, when it passed, but had to bow to it, or they would be struck down. At Lautereck the Catholics forbade the Reformed to ring their bells on Good Friday, and as the Reformed disobeyed, they were arrested and put to hard labor for two or three months. The Reformed Church, which had lost almost half its property, was in a sad condition. In many places it had not the money to support schoolmasters, so the children were by force of circumstances compelled to go to a Romish school, if they wanted to go to any (and they were often forced to go.) Many churches were so nearly ruined, that the Reformed could not hold service in them any more, without danger of having the roof fall in on them, and yet there was no money in the Reformed treasury to repair them. Many pastors and teachers were unpaid, and had to leave their charges, which were added to neighboring parishes already too large. For not the least of the Reformed oppressions was the perversion of the Reformed funds to the Romish treasury, or if not that, the waste of them, so that they would not be used to aid the Reformed.* Thus the spital at Oppenheim brought 18,000 gulden to the Reformed in 1685. By the introduction of the Simultaneum they received five-sevenths of 12,800 gulden. In 1725 its Reformed administrator died, and no Reformed was

* The New History of the Reformed Church of the Palatinate published in 1791, gives many illustrations of this. See pages 183-9.

appointed in his place, and so they lost the income. The same took place with the rich hospital at Lautern, whose revenues the Catholics took entire in 1740. Thus the Reformed lost so much of their revenues, that they could not pay their pastors and keep up their churches. Reck published a book entitled, "The Incompleteness of the Restoration of the Palatinate," which created a great sensation by such revelations.*

Finally John of Reck took his departure. The Catholics had tired out the Reformed. The Reformed consistory was lifeless and hopeless. The foreign Princes were displeased with the inactivity of the consistory. Money too failed for these expensive negotiations. So the condition remained the same as before, only the Reformed were losing ground. Then there was a new mine sprung on them by the Jesuits. The Lutherans were dissatisfied with the edict that divided the church revenues into five-sevenths to the Reformed, and two-sevenths to Catholics, but gave nothing to them. So they quarreled with the Reformed over the revenues. The Jesuits aimed to keep up their dissatisfaction, so as to divide the two

* Just about that time there occurred an event, which, insignificant in itself, went the round of the courts of Europe and revealed the persecutions there. A woman at Heidelberg would not kneel to the host as it was carried along in the street. A boy, the son of one of the prominent Catholic families, then sprang out of the crowd and gave her a kick in the back, so that she fainted away, and had premature delivery. This cruel event the Elector was slow even to take up, but finally the pressure of influence became so great that he had the boy whipped and put to prison.

Protestant Churches. The Lutherans now demanded that 75,000 guldin be given them so as to settle the matter. So the Reformed consistory called a Synod of the Reformed at Heidelberg in 1736. It consisted of the pastors of the three main towns, Heidelberg, Frankenthal and Mannheim, and the inspectors of the various districts. They agreed to raise 15,000 gulden for the Lutherans, and settle the matter. This they hoped to raise by collections in Protestant lands. This, however, was only possible when the Reformed got back their own endowments. But the Reformed were never able to fulfill the agreement, owing to their extreme poverty. Still this Synod brought about a better understanding between the two denominations, and the unkind feelings that had existed for about a quarter of a century passed away. In 1743 the Elector died, after a reign of constant oppression on the Reformed. During his reign, one-fourth of his population emigrated to other lands, many of them to America. It was during his reign that the Reformed consistory, poor and weak as it was, commissioned George Michael Weiss to America, with a company of emigrants, who founded the First Reformed Church of Philadelphia.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION III.

ELECTOR CHARLES THEODORE (1743-99) AND THE CORRUPTION OF THE REFORMED CONSISTORY.

By the judgment of God the last Elector died childless.* So the Palatinate fell to a new line of Palatinate Princes, which was looked upon at the time as somewhat more liberal. The persecutions of the Reformed seemed less violent. But the Jesuits gained control over him, and then they increased the persecutions. However the oppressions now came more by moral force than by physical suffering. His reign began by an order putting the Reformed out of all political positions, although they were the larger part of the population. These positions he of course filled with Catholics. The last Reformed member of the Electoral Council, Lulls, was dismissed. Where the Reformed officials were old, they were permitted to remain till they died, and then their offices were filled by Romanists, but the younger ones were either transferred to other less important offices (where their influence on the State was lost) or else dismissed. Among the body guards of the Elector for twenty-five years,

* It is remarkable how God punished the Electors who persecuted the Reformed, just as he did Louis XIV. No son of theirs ever sat on the throne, for these Electors were childless.

although two-thirds of his population were Protestant, yet there was but one Protestant, and he a Lutheran. Romish officials were appointed in all the districts, even down, it is said, to the midwife. It is said that where there was only one Catholic, and he a cow-herd, he would be made a magistrate.* The Elector, in order to save expense, had appointed the Reformed pastors of Heidelberg as the professors of Reformed theology in the university. Now, however, he began to replace them by appointing Romanists. The consistory reminded him that all this was contrary to the Halle recess, for now the professors were twenty Catholics, four Reformed and one Lutheran (and he a dancing master.)†

But the worst phase of the treatment of the Reformed was the corruption of the consistory. This organization had always been the bulwark against Romish aggressions, especially when Fabricius, Achenbach and Mieg were in it. The Jesuits had tried to rob it of its power by external force. Since they found they could not destroy its power by force, they tried to demoralize it, for they will stop at nothing in order to gain their ends. They enlarged the consistory from six to eighteen, the marriage court

* Yes it was facetiously said that if a Catholic man could not be found for magistrate, a midwife, if a Catholic, would be appointed, rather than a Protestant.

† The university auditorium was divided between them, but the Jesuits gained control of all the rooms but one. For a while the Reformed used this one, but then a disciple of St. Ignatius took it and put his desk before the door, to which the Reformed had the key, and so kept them out.

from four to eighteen, and the spiritual administration (which should have had two from each denomination), enlarged to twenty-eight, with seventy lower officials, who were mainly Catholics. All these must be paid out of the five-sevenths of the funds which belonged to the Reformed, and which was often not paid to them. Many ministers and school teachers, therefore, remained unpaid, while the consistory and court lived in luxury. It is said that within fifteen years these councillors stole 150,000 florins of the church money. It not seldom occurred that three or four persons received pay for the same office ; and money was paid out for persons who either were dead or had left the country. This payment was continued and went into the pockets of the members of the commission. By the enlargement of the consistory many unworthy persons were appointed, as well as persons who were Romish sympathizers. The Jesuits thus hoped to destroy the consistory by two methods : first by increasing the expenses of the court, so as to break it up, and second by introducing simony or bribery into it, and thus demoralizing it. They hoped that the increased expense of so large a number of officials would break up the consistory. Thus in 1705 the spiritual administration cost 6300 florins, while in 1775 it cost 33,000 florins. A body so deep dyed in the wool was not fitted to resist oppressions on the Reformed. It was cringing to superiors and despotic to inferiors. The majority could be bribed off

by the government, and was also bribed so as to give offices. Thus simony or the sale of positions of pastors and school teachers became common. These were shamefully and openly sold to the highest bidder. Some of the councillors, as Abraham Muller of Schwetzingen, gained a shameful notoriety, for he acted as broker in knocking down the positions to the highest bidder. Many a pastor or candidate could return after having offered 1,000 florins (\$500), without having attained by them the coveted position. These positions were not only sold, but even auctioned to the highest bidder. Some of the councillors wanted the gold deposited before the sale, and then they would divide it among themselves. They seemed to have lost all sense of shame, for they geyed each other, saying, "How much is bid? will it not bring more?" One candidate offered his list with thirty louis d'ors in money. The chancellor received them and threw them on the table with the words, "This is tobacco money." The result of such actions was that poor but honest and worthy candidates for the ministry had to leave the country, because they could not or would not pay the extortions. Some of them came to America. The government permitted these unlawful procedures, because it saw that they weakened the power of the Reformed. In 1754 simony rose to its highest point. It was eating out the heart of the Church by dry rot. Fortunately there was one institution that still remained true to the Reformed

Church as a bulwark of defence. The last Protestant Elector, Charles, had revived the Classes. At their meetings (which were held once or twice a year) the ministers of the Classes of Wiesloch, Alzei and Oppenheim lifted up their voices against the simony of the consistory. They wanted a rule to be made, that all candidates take an oath not to practice simony or bribery in order to get positions. But this request found only six votes in its favor out of eighteen in the consistory. To stop their protests, the Elector, January 23, 1754, issued an order forbidding the Classes to meet. But as the Inspector of Neustadt held a meeting and some others followed his example, then the Elector again forbade them to meet, August 16, 1755, under penalty of dismission, and so no more classical meetings were held.

Thus the Reformed were more oppressed than ever. Since the Classes were dissolved, they had no one to go to with their complaints, as the consistory was corrupt and the Elector deaf to them. The Elector's decree broke the bond of union between the consistory and the Classes. For more than twenty years the Reformed ministers tried to gain the privilege of holding meetings of Classis, but in vain. The Jesuits again began to persecute them. But they did not do so long, for the Jesuits themselves were driven out of the Palatinate in 1773 by the government, although another Romish sect, the Lazarists, came in to take their place. Fortunately better elements began to

appear in the consistory, as Professors Wundt, Heddeus and others became members. They asked the consistory in 1776 to be allowed to hold a Synod. But there were still some councillors in the consistory who reflected the old simony, and so influenced the Elector that he forbade it. Then, as the consistory would allow no Synod, they elected delegations from all the parishes, who were to appeal to the Elector (or the Emperor). They went to him, August 25, 1777, but he sent them away, simply referring them to the edict of the previous year. In spite of the refusal, a number of the two hundred and four ministers again appealed in 1781 to the consistory to hold a Synod, and were again refused in 1784, because the Elector did not want the consistory and the ministers to work in harmony again. Finally the pastors, in 1784, appealed to the Evangelical States of Germany, and begged Prussia to take up their cause. The Elector of the Palatinate tried to evade the matter, as he had done before, by appointing a commission. But the Evangelical States sent an energetic complaint to the Emperor, in which they showed that the Reformed had been kept by force from holding their Synods. The Emperor now was the enlightened and liberal Francis Joseph II. of Austria. He issued a decree, ordering the Elector to allow the holding of a Synod, and to refrain from abuses. Then the Elector quibbled again. He was willing to hold a Synod, provided he was represented at it by a Romish

deputy. The Reformed replied that their Synods had always been held under the control of their own consistory, and not under a Romish deputy, and refused to concede this. Finally a Synod was held, August 25-27, 1789, and was composed of the pastors of the three main towns, Heidelberg, Mannheim and Frankenthal, and the twenty-two inspectors of the districts, but it lasted only two days, and could do little in so short a time. Still it had this result, that it united the ministers and the consistory together again. The consistory now sent a delegate to Ratisbon, to the Evangelical States, to further their cause. Unfortunately Emperor Francis Joseph II. died just then, and in 1792 the French Revolution came, and prevented any further development of the Synods. The Romish oppressions remained, while there were none to defend the Reformed, although gradually their oppressions lessened in severity. In 1799 the Elector Charles Theodore died childless, and with him the long night of monkish oppression was past.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION IV.

ELECTOR MAX JOSEPH AND THE CLOSE OF THE ROMISH RULE.

Electeur Max Joseph, although descended from the Zweibrücken line, was a Catholic too. But he deserted the policy of his predecessors, by giving religious toleration to the Protestants in his land. On June, 25, 1799, he issued an edict, giving the Reformed equal rights with the Catholics. This was the first ray of light and comfort they had had for a century. Still they did not get back all their churches, as in 1648, but they now received their five-seventh share of the endowment. After the death of Professor Heddeus, Wundt was the only Reformed professor of theology at Heidelberg, and finally, on September 9, 1795, after Heddeus' place had been vacant for a long while, he appealed to the consistory for another professor, and Charles Daub was appointed.

When the Palatinate fell to Baden in 1802, it came again under a Protestant Prince, the Lutheran Charles Frederick. He, as a Protestant, allowed the Reformed their rights. He re-founded the university, May 9, 1803. He made it a union university, and appointed Lutherans (as Schwartz) to teach with Daub. Other prominent

teachers soon came, as De Wette, Neander, Paulus, Baur, Ewald, etc., and the university began to bloom again, as it had done in the sixteenth century. The inhabitants of the Palatinate numbered 280,000 in 1783, of whom 90,000 were Catholics, 50,000 Lutherans and 140,000 Reformed, who were divided into 240 parishes.

The condition of the Reformed during this century of persecution may be described as a struggle for existence. A worldly consistory, a hostile government, repressed all her energies, and her battle was not for growth, but for simple existence. One writer described the style of preaching as Jewish-German, in which "the rhetoric of the Old Testament phrases filled the hollow place of thought, and the hymn book of 1747 was an anthology of Papal absurdities of the sixteenth century." This is doubtless a rationalistic criticism. For there were many noble and excellent men, who stood up bravely for their Church and for the right, although the simony of the consistory greatly injured the spirituality of the Church. A rumor having spread to Holland, that some of the Palatinate ministers were trying to do away with the Heidelberg Catechism, the Classis of Amsterdam appealed to the consistory, to know if it were true. The consistory returned thanks for their fraternal interest, but gave them such assurances of adhering to it that put all their fears to rest.

Such was the sad history of the Reformed of the Palatinate. We have given only the main facts and a few illustrations of the many oppressions which they suffered. After a century of such trials, the wonder is that any Reformed Church remained there at all. Their faithfulness to their Church, their sacrifices and sufferings ought to make our faith all the dearer to us. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." It is also a precious legacy to stimulate future generations to greater love for their Church and greater zeal in her cause.

BOOK IV.

PIETISM (DIE FEINEN).

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

Pietism was a movement in the Protestant Church which emphasized experience. It stood over against dead orthodoxy on the one hand, and lifeless formalism on the other. It aimed to make religion a matter of the heart, as well as of the head. Pietism did not lie mainly in dress, as some of the narrower sort thought and so criticised Yung Stilling, because he no longer wore their peculiar garb. It was more than outward dress, it was inward spirit. It aimed to develop the subjective experience—the inner life with Christ. And while doing this, it also aimed to develop the outward Christian life by consistency of character and activity of life. And thus it showed its fruits in conventicles or prayer meetings, catechization, stricter church discipline, the building of orphanages, more earnest preaching and pastoral visitation. Pietism often led to spiritual awakenings in the churches, and became a great blessing to the Reformed Church.

Pietism was not quietism, for it was Christianity in action. It was not mysticism, for it was practical. It was not separatism,* for a large part of the Pietists remained in the Church. Thus the Pietism of Spener and Bengel, and the Halle school, was as much a part of the Lutheran Church as the dead orthodoxy of their opponents. To eliminate Pietism from that Church, would be to destroy a large part of her best history and work. It has been said by some in this country, that Pietism was contrary to the spirit and genius of the Reformed Church, and that the Reformed Church cast out the Pietists. This however is a great mistake. Goebel† speaking of conventicles, says: "Such exercises for piety or mutual conference on the Bible by plain members, were never forbidden by the Reformed Church, but rather permitted, and were widely customary." Others among the best Reformed Church historians bear the same testimony. Thus Iken‡ says: "We must consider Pietism as an integral part of Reformed Church history." Conventicles (prayer meetings) therefore were a truly Reformed institution. To eliminate Pietism from the Reformed Church, would be to eliminate a large part of her best history. Her greatest theologians

* One who separates himself from the Church and joins a sect.

† History of the Rheinisch Westphalian Reformed Church, Vol. II., 209, note.

‡ Life of Joachim Neander, page 22.

and best historians, from Lampe down to the Krummachers, were Pietistic. Indeed Pietism, instead of being opposed to the Reformed Church, became an integral part of her being. For it was the Church, emphasizing personal experience and religious activity. The Reformed Church and her Heidelberg Catechism are experimental. There was this difference between the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches—the Lutherans emphasized the objective or the outward forms and ceremonies, while the Reformed emphasized the subjective or experimental. “So we know what the conventicle (prayer meeting) is, and whence it comes. It is a true Reformed institution, come down from Reformation times.”* As Ebrard says:† “In the Lutheran Church of Germany there lay no new birth at the basis of theology, as there did in the Reformed, which led to personal experience.” Her theology was sacramentarian, rather than subjective or experimental. Thus, the Reformed Church, instead of casting Pietism out, on the contrary made it a part of her being and inmost life. As a result, this remarkable difference appears between the two Protestant Churches. In the Lutheran Church Pietism existed as a school, in the Reformed Church it was a part of her very life and genius. This explains why it was opposed in the Lutheran Church. They opposed it because it came in from the outside as a novelty. For

* *Kirchenzeitung of Germany*, 1654, page 97.

† *Church History*, Vol. IV., page 111.

Spener got the idea of it from the Reformed preacher Labadie, whom he heard at Geneva. But in the Reformed Church it did not come in as a novelty. It existed in her from the beginning, and was germane to her life. And although not fully developed until the close of the seventeenth century, yet its germ, its model, existed at the very beginning of the Reformed Church, and it was in existence ever since. The Pietists were not a *party* in the Reformed Church, as in the Lutheran, but a *part* of her inmost life and history. Thus Theleman,* says: "The conventicles which brought so much blessing on the Evangelical Church, are also an original Reformed institution." Krummacher, the great court preacher of Germany, says of the Reformed Church of the Lower Rhine: "Inward Christianity was the watchword of the faithful, spiritual experience, the life hidden with Christ, the death of self. Christ in us, were the catchwords of their theology." Indeed, so thoroughly was Pietism the basis of the Reformed Church, and also her highest development, that a prominent Reformed minister once said to me, "In the Lutheran Church she was a school, in the Reformed Church she was the Church, and not a part of it." Hence in the Reformed Church those who held Pietistic views, were called by a different name from those in the Lutheran. In the Lutheran Church they were called Pietists,

* Life of Lampe, page 16, note.

in the Reformed they were called Die Feinen—the fine or the pious.*

That Pietism is originally and truly Reformed, is proved not only by her best Church historians, whom we have quoted, but also by the individual facts of her history. The Reformed Church always contained it, but it was fully developed only by the latter part of the seventeenth century. And yet the first century was pietistic. What was the Reformation itself but a great revival in piety, and so Christian experience became prominent. But after the freshness and earnestness of the early Reformation had worn off, then came a period of coldness and formalism, when either the worldly element in the Church again became prominent, or else the scholastic tendencies of the Middle Ages began to influence the Church again in her theology. But over against this the spiritual element in the Church reasserted itself, and saved the Church. Sad, yes fateful, would it have been, if the rationalism of the eighteenth century had come in on the heels of the dead orthodoxy of the seventeenth century, and the period of Pietism had not intervened between them. It was Pietism that prepared the Church for rationalism, and saved her in it.

Zwingli laid the foundations for the modern conventions (prayer meetings) by his prophesyings. He laid

* We find it difficult, however, in English, to use the name "Feinen," and so will have to use the word Pietism instead.

the basis for his prophesyings in 1519, when he set aside the pericopes or scripture lessons, and began preaching on the Gospel of Matthew, verse after verse. After 1525 it was the custom at Zurich every morning, except Sunday and Friday, at 8 o'clock for the canons, ministers, chaplains and students to gather together in the choir of the cathedral. After a brief prayer, a chapter (or part of it,) was read in the Vulgate or the Septuagint, and commented on by all present. Then at 9 A. M. one of the ministers explained the results of their study of the Bible in a practical discourse to the people. From these prophesyings came Zwingli's commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, Joshua and Jeremiah.* They were continued after Zwingli's death.† This was brought into Germany by Lasco. Lasco was accustomed in London to hold such conventicles after the church service in which the sermon was discussed, or any other Biblical subject was brought up.‡ Dalton says :§ “ Lasco laid great importance on these prophesyings.” These were brought into Germany before the Reformed Church was founded at Heidelberg through the Reformed churches at Wesel and Emden, which followed Lasco's model at London. The first Reformed Synods in Germany, at Wesel, 1568, and Emden, 1571, approved of these prophesyings.|| Calvin at Geneva laid

* Herzog Encyclopedia, Vol. XII., page 288.

† Goebel History of the Rhenish Westphalian Church, Vol. I., 297, note.

‡ Heppel History of Pietism, page 15.

§ Life of Lasco, page 392.

|| Goebel History of Rhenish Westphalian Church, Vol. I., 420 and 424.

the basis of Pietism in his strict church discipline, which was another peculiarity which Pietism especially emphasized. Labadie, a century after Calvin, again brought Geneva into a state of moral reformation by his eloquence. But this movement of Pietism among the Reformed of Germany was not so much influenced by Labadie, as by the Dutch, who had Pietism long before Labadie came among them.* Besides, when Labadie came into Germany, he came as a Separatist, and his influence was for separation from the Church, and not Pietism in the Church. Long before Labadie came to Holland, Pietism was prominent in Professor Voet (the renowned professor of theology and leader of that Church), and in Professor Lodenstein, the two leading lights of the Reformed Church of that land. Pietism, therefore, developed as a part of the Church through her most prominent ministers, and was not an excrescence outside of the Church. Hornbeck says (1660), "These prophesyings were in the Reformed Church since the early Reformation, and were called by the church at Emden and Wesel, 'prophesyings,' after 1 Cor. 14." Goebel† says, that the Reformed Synod of Rotterdam, 1629, approved conventicles. He also says that the laity, as well as the clergy, took part in them, and that they took up the Bible, book by book. And Voet declared in 1676 for

* See Heppes History of Pietism.

† History of Rhenish Westphalian Church, Vol. II., page 209.

“the freedom of prophesying.” There was need only to have a fuller development of this early movement of Reformed Pietism.

Spener was not the founder of Pietism, as has been claimed by some of the Lutheran writers, like Sachsse and Schmidt, in their works on Pietism, who seem to forget that there was any Reformed Pietism. But Gœbel, Heppe, Ritschl and Ebrard champion the Reformed, and fully describe their share in this great movement. The truth is, that the Lutherans received their ideas about Pietism from the Reformed. Spener heard Labadie preach in Geneva, and translated Labadie's Manual of Piety into German. He got his ideas of Pietism from the Reformed.*

Two causes led to the development of Pietism in the Reformed Church in the close of the seventeenth century. The first was a reaction against the dead orthodoxy and formalism that had crept into the Church. The second was the rise of the Cocceianism, or the Federal School of Theology. The two really were one, Cocceianism a reac-

* It was not the Reformed of Germany who received their impulse from Labadie, but Spener did, who then went back to Germany to introduce it into the Lutheran Church. That was the reason why he was so bitterly opposed, because the old Lutherans look'd on it as an innovation coming from the outside, and not in the genius of the Church. In fact, not only did Spener get Pietism from the Reformed, but it existed in the Reformed Church of Germany before he began to hold his conventicles at Frankford. For the Reformed Synod of Wesel endorsed them 1568, and Untereyck had begun his prayer meetings at Mühlheim five years earlier than Spener began his at Frankford.

tion against deadness of doctrine, and Pietism a reaction against deadness of life. Through the theological controversies religion had become a matter of the head, rather than of the heart and life. It had been hoped that the Reformation had delivered the Church from the shackles of the scholasticism of the Middle Ages. But the influences of past tendencies of thought were not so easily obliterated. Scholastic Protestantism came in with its dry dogmas and theological hair-splittings. Controversies on minor points arose between the denominations, and also within them. Finally, against all this, there came a reaction.

But first there came reaction in philosophy. For theology and philosophy are twins (the one giving the facts, the other the form), but of the two theology is the older and greater, being born of God. The reaction in philosophy was Cartesianism. Aristotelianism had ruled philosophy, but Descartes, weary of the endless disputations of philosophy, reacted against it. His philosophy was one of doubt. Everything must be doubted, till proved. But in order to have something to begin with, he started from the fundamental principle, "I think, therefore I am." The germ of later rationalism lay in this, for if thinking is the beginning of everything, the intellect is supreme. As a result, the simple-minded were ultimately led to doubt, rather than to faith, by this philosophy. But Cartesianism did this much for the realm of thought: It

broke up the fossilized lines of thought, and stirred men's minds to new inquiry. As a result, there came a breaking away from older methods of thought in theology, as well as in philosophy. So along with this reaction in philosophy came Cocceianism, or the Federal theology, as a reaction in theology.*

John Koch, the founder of Cocceianism, was a German by birth, but studied at Franeker, and then studied Hebrew and the Talmud under a Jew at Hamburg. He became professor of theology at Bremen, 1629. Seven years later he was called to Franeker, and 1650 as professor at Leyden. In 1648 he published his famous work on the Theology of the Covenants. He undertook to introduce a mediating theology between the scholastic theology and Cartesianism. He proposed to apply the Cartesian principle (that everything must be proved, in order to be believed) to theology. He agreed with Descartes in his method, but differed from him in its source, as he made the Scriptures the rule of faith, instead of reason. As Descartes had said, "I think, therefore I believe," he said, "The Scriptures declare it, and therefore I believe." But every doctrine must be proved from Scripture. The great gain of this theology was, that it led men's minds back to a renewed study of the Bible. It made theology not so much a matter of creed and of

* Trends of thought are like contagious diseases, they pass quickly from one department to another, especially when so closely related as philosophy and theology.

dogmas, as of the Bible. It led to a re-examination of the Bible and of the doctrines in the light of the Bible. A doctrine was not to be believed, because it was in a creed, it had to be in the Bible too. And yet, while Cocceianism was conservative, because it led men back to the Bible, it was also progressive and liberal too. Its association with Cartesianism revealed its liberal spirit, and made it suspected by the older theologians. Thus the Cartesians accepted the new idea, that the earth moved around the sun. This was considered by many of the conservative theologians as contrary to the Bible, which said the sun moved. Thus Benkel, speaking against those who held that the earth turned, said, "that was a sure sign that their heads were turned." The Cocceians also accepted new ideas of dress, as well as of thought. They broke away from the pedantic rules of deportment of the scholastics, and wore long hair, and after wigs came into fashion in 1680, they wore long and powdered wigs. But though it aimed to be liberal, Cocceianism was scriptural, and led men back to the Bible. Cocceius developed his famous theological system, which is based on two covenants. The first covenant was of works. This was the covenant with Adam before the fall, namely that if he did what was good and right, he would receive eternal life. The second was the covenant of grace. When Adam fell, the covenant of works fell too. If Adam was to be saved, he must be saved in some other way. God, therefore, out of mercy, made a covenant

of grace to save him, not because of his works, but for the sake of the coming Messiah, if he would believe on Him. The fall of man was the dividing line between the two covenants. Koch claimed to be decretal in his theology, but his system does not make the decrees, but redemption, the centre of theology. While giving all the supremacy to the divine, it yet allows larger liberty for the human, for a covenant pre-supposed two persons.

Two special points are to be noticed in his system. First his system of Hermeneutics. He formulated for the first time the proper theory of interpretation of Scripture, namely "that the text must be determined by the context." But in his intense application of this rule, he held that the Bible was so rich in meanings, that each text had three meanings, allegorical, typical and prophetic. This led his followers into many fanciful interpretations. Still he laid the basis for true interpretation of Scripture. The other peculiarity was his view on the Sabbath. He held that the Sabbath was part of the Jewish law, which was done away with by Christ with the rest of the Jewish law.* The observance of the Sabbath was not commanded by God, but it was to be observed as a matter of expediency. The New Testament was the true Sabbath. His low views on the Sabbath caused great alarm.

* Biblical researches have since disproved his position, showing that the custom of the Sabbath existed long before Moses, and was older than the ceremonial law.

There were four schools of Calvinism :

(1) The Supralapsarian. These held that God not only foresaw the fall and permitted it, but that He distinctly decreed it by His will, and overruled it for His glory.

(2) The Infralapsarian. They held that God did not decree the fall out of His own good pleasure, but that He first decreed to create, and then permitted the fall. He then elected whom He would, and provided a redemption for those whom He had elected, and left the rest of man to die in their sins.

(3) The Cocceian. This seems to be a modification of the Infralapsarian view, and arranged its decrees in the same order, but they made the covenants the guiding principle. Yet, in doing this, they made more prominent the human element in election. God made a covenant with man, who, it is true, is a silent party in the election. Yet this system shows that God respected man's condition more than appears among the Infralapsarians.

(4) The Sublapsarian. They held, that the fall of man was not decreed, although foreseen. The aim of God's economy was redemption, rather than election. God provided a salvation sufficient for all men. It held to universal atonement, rather than limited atonement. It did this to avoid the charge that God was the author of sin, or the cause of the loss of the souls of the lost.

It is customary to divide the schools according to the order in which they placed the decrees. The Supralap-

sarians arranged them, (1) election ; (2) creation ; (3) fall ; (4) redemption. The Infralapsarians arranged them, (1) creation ; (2) fall ; (3) election ; (4) redemption for the elect or limited atonement. The Sublapsarians arranged them, (1) creation ; (2) fall ; (3) redemption ; (4) election.

The effect of Cocceianism was to promote Pietism. The study of the Bible always awakens men. The reading of God's Word leads to revivals. As a result Cocceius and his party gathered around them the earnest spiritually-minded of the Church. These had become tired of dry dialectics in the pulpit, and now flocked to hear the new method of explaining the Bible. As a result, in Germany all the Pietists were Cocceians, although in Holland the greatest opponent to Cocceius, Prof. Voet, was also a Pietist. Thus the age of the pious (*Die Feinen*) came up in the Reformed Church.

It has been charged by some in this country that the Reformed Church drove out Pietism, as in the case of Horsch and Nethenus. But where one separated from the Church, as they did, a dozen remained in the Church. And when their cases are closely examined, it will be found that they were not disciplined for being Pietists, or for holding prayer meetings, etc., but for two other reasons, as the following: (1) They abused Pietism, rather than used it, and went further than the holding of prayer meetings. They exaggerated church discipline, and refused to administer the Lord's Supper to those who were

ecclesiastically worthy of it, or else refused to go to it themselves. For this violation of Reformed Church law, but not for Pietism, they were very properly suspended. (2) The State opposed Pietism and put them out of the Church. The influence of the State on the Church hindered Pietism. Ritschl calls attention to this in his *Pietism*,* where he noticed the fact that some Reformed districts received Pietism at once, while others opposed it. These differences of results are explainable because of the different governments of the Churches. Wherever in Germany the State ruled the Church, it generally cast it out at first. For worldly members do not like too much religiousness, and Erastianism does not love spirituality. The world in the Church would cast it out, but the Church itself did not. But in the Northern Rhine region, where the Church was independent of the State, and had its own autonomy, there it approved of Pietism and received it. Wherever a church was independent of the State (like ours in America) it received it and so should we.

So while comparatively few of the Pietists were dismissed, the great body of them remained in the Church. Where one left or was cast out, ten remained in the Church. We have no sympathy with Separatism, but believe in Pietism in the Church. Those remaining in the Church, were led by Untereyck, Neander, Lampe, Mel and others, and became a salt to preserve the Church and a leaven to

* *History of Pietism*, I., 370.

purify it. This Pietistic movement became therefore an integral part of the Reformed Church. Its germs were in the Reformed Church from the beginning, and needed but favoring circumstances to develop them. It grew in power until Pietism went over both Protestant Churches of Germany like a wave of blessing at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. It was a new revival, a new Reformation, a revival of the earnest spirit of the Reformation.

CHAPTER II.

THE RISE OF PIETISM.

SECTION I.

THEODORE UNTEREYCK.

Untereyck was the father of Reformed Pietism in Germany in the seventeenth century.* Untereyck was born at Duisburg, June 18, 1635. He was descended from a Dutch family, driven out of the Netherlands for their faith. Both of his parents died of the plague when he was only two years old, and he was reared by an uncle. At the age of eighteen he went to the university of Utrecht, where he studied under Professor Voet, the Nestor of Reformed orthodoxy in the Netherlands. But he was more especially influenced by the preaching of those two "sons of thunder," Lodenstein and Bogaart, "the shakers of bone and marrow." He had had from his boyhood an inbred fear of death. This increased as he grew older and as sin gained power over him, until it became a mortal terror. The preaching of these Dutch

* It is a mistake to suppose that Labadie began the movement of Pietism in Germany, for Untereyck began his meetings at Mühlheim before Labadie ever came to Germany, yes before Labadie went to Holland. Untereyck was Labadie's forerunner, instead of Labadie being Untereyck's forerunner.

ministers produced in him the deepest conviction of sin. Lodenstein showed how this dread of death could be driven away, and his conviction of sin gave way to conversion and peace. He then went (1657) to the newly founded university of Duisburg. He again visited the Netherlands the next year, so as to hear Professor Koch at Leyden. He became a follower of Koch, although he hoped to mediate between his views and the scholastic theology of Voet, and thereby unite what was best in both. In 1659 he traveled to Paris and then to England, where he met the Puritans and became acquainted with their Pietism. His travels broadened his mind, and prevented him from becoming in after-life a narrow Separatist. He was everywhere painfully impressed with the great need of a new revival in the Church.

In 1660 he became pastor of the Reformed church at Mühlheim on the Ruhr. He was very diligent in pastoral visitation, and also in catechization. About 1665 he began holding conventicles (prayer meetings), such as he had seen in the Reformed Church of Holland. They were held in schools or private houses, and passages of Scripture were explained and applied practically to the hearers. As a result there was an awakening and revival in the church. He thus began conventicles five years before Spener held his at Frankford, 1670. His prayer meetings proved a great blessing to his church. Their influence has lasted down to the present time. He

accepted a call (1668) to be court preacher of the Landgravine of Hesse-Cassel. When he left, the elders of the congregation complained to the Synod, because he decided to go away, for they were loath to part with him. But the Synod sustained him. He wrote a practical dogmatics on the basis of the covenants entitled "Hallelujah," for he was the first minister to introduce the theology of the covenants, in the spirit of Pietism, into Germany. At Cassel he had the support of the Landgravine Hedwig Sophia, the sister of the Elector of Brandenburg. He, however, found that he had no avenues for practical work among the people, because his congregation was the princely family, so after two years (1670), he accepted a call to the St. Martin's church of Bremen, where he remained for twenty-two years. His brief stay at Cassel was not without results, for it led to an edict urging more careful catechization in the churches. This decree influenced the Church of Hesse for many years.

Bremen was a large and wealthy, but gay and worldly city. Being a seaport, it came in contact with France, and soon with French fashions there came in also French morals. As it was surrounded on every side by Lutheran cities, it, although Reformed, still retained some Lutheran customs. Thus after the Lutheran fashion, the Reformed ministers preached on the pericopes or Scripture lessons, gave private communion, the congregations used hymns as well as Psalms, celebrated the Lord's Supper every

Sunday, and retained the giving of confessional money. These were all contrary to the usual Reformed customs. Besides the Church was under the control of the State, and not of its own Synod. The ministers did not compose a Synod, but a ministerium, who had power only to ordain and install pastors. But the city council controlled the Church; for, although it allowed each congregation to call its own pastor, it yet reserved to itself the right to ratify such elections, and then would order the ministerium as its creature to ordain and install them. As a result of State control, French influence and High Churchism, the religious life of Bremen was at a low ebb when Untereyck went there. It was very evident that Bremen would have but little sympathy for his earnest methods.

It happened that there occurred just at that time, two events that made that worldly city suspicious of him. The first was the coming of Labadie to Germany as a Separatist, which led to the starting of a Separatistic Church at Herford. This alarmed Germany. The other event was, that Schluter, a disciple of Labadie's, came to Untereyck's parish at Mühlheim, and influenced some of its members to leave the Church, declaring that the Church was "a gathering of biting dogs and filthy swine." Untereyck therefore found that he was suspected of being a follower of Labadie, and inclined to be a Separatist. For Labadie had passed through Bremen on his way to Herford, and

the Bremen city council was then unusually sensitive to anything that savored of Labadianism. Untereyck denied the charge of being a Labadist. When questioned by the ministerium whether he was acquainted with Labadie, he answered: "I have never seen him."* He thus proved himself innocent of the suspicion, and the city council ordered the ministerium to install him, and according to their custom, he preached a trial sermon in the Liebfrau church. The St. Martin's church, to which he was called, had already been a famous church in Reformed Church history. Here it was that Timan, the great opponent of Hardenberg, had preached.† It had three pastors, of whom Untereyck was the first, and Hildebrand the second. The importance of his call to Bremen was that it secured for Pietism a hold in one of the large cities, whereas before it had been rural. Untereyck's work in Bremen now brought it into prominence.

He began his work by preaching heart-searching sermons which produced a great sensation. But his preaching was comforting as well as convicting. From all parts of the city the people began to attend his services. He began holding prayer meetings soon after his arrival. These were not exactly new, for Bergius, the pastor of St. Ansgari Reformed church, had held them. But the city

* Iken *Life of Neander*, page 63.

† See my "Origin of the Reformed Church in Germany," page 272.

council had considered them a novelty, and forbidden them. Untereyck's wife also greatly aided him in holding these meetings. She was a model minister's wife, a help-meet in every particular. Thus on Sunday, after the church services were over in all the churches, Untereyck gathered the men in his house to converse with them familiarly on some passage of the Bible, while his wife held similar meetings for the women. His wife also on all week days held a meeting for girls, from 11 to 12 A. M., in which they went over the articles of their Christian faith. And on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons she took the servant girls and those of the lower classes, and taught them the five divisions of the catechism. These prayer meetings drew crowds even from the other parishes of the city. Mrs. Untereyck too gained a wonderful influence among the children, for they had not been much noticed by the Church before this. She was really starting a Sunday school (although not on Sunday) long before Robert Raikes. Untereyck announced these meetings from his pulpit, and urged his people to attend them, and the attendance on them greatly increased. But their success aroused both the ministerium and the city council who took action against them. Untereyck replied by saying that the Synod of Dort had ordered them, that they were commonly held in the Reformed Church of Holland, and that he had held them in the Reformed districts of the Northern Rhine. His wife, in reply to their criticisms,



ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, BREMEN.

quoted the example of Priscilla in the Bible, and of Calvin's wife in the Reformed Church History. Finally, owing to the opposition, Untereyck gave up his meetings, but his wife continued hers until the end of her life, and did a most blessed and successful work among the children of Bremen.

Untereyck then centered his efforts on another Pietistic institution, namely, catechization. He was so zealous in it that the ministerium found fault with him, that he could give private instructions three hours a day and catechize another half hour, while he had not time to attend the meetings of the ministerium. He also preached on free texts, instead of texts taken from the Scripture lessons, which, although a Lutheran custom, had been retained by the Reformed of Bremen, and he also made use of free prayers. But the more he was opposed by the other ministers, the more his popularity increased among the people. Many came from other parishes to him to have their children baptized. He also endeavored to introduce Church discipline, another institution which Pietism emphasized. He brought a memorial before the city council, asking that each pastor have the right to keep unworthy members from the communion, and also requesting that a Presbyterium be organized in every congregation of the city. But the council refused. He was, however, the first to introduce the weekly catechization of children. Before this the clergy had paid little attention to the children.

But when Untereyck and his wife began teaching them the catechism, the movement became so popular that after he had been there only a year, the St. Stephen's church requested their pastor to instruct their children as Untereyck did. Within two years after his arrival, both the ministerium and the city council ordered such catechization in all the churches.

He also attempted to introduce another Reformed custom. The Lutheran custom of bringing confessional money (*beicht pfennig*)* was still in vogue in the Reformed churches. Untereyck tried to have this un-Reformed custom put away. But as the ministers had to rely on this money for their support, the other ministers opposed it. He succeeded, however, in having it put away from his own congregation, although not from the other churches. Instead of this confessional money, he took up an annual collection, beginning with 1684. It remained for Lampe to get this custom put away many years after.

Untereyck published in 1670 his work, "The Bride of Christ Among the Daughters of Laodicea." In it he defended Pietism in the Church, and attacked ministers who were merely formal. Meanwhile the leaven of Pietism began to work in that city. He tried to get its ministers into its parishes, so that he might have some who

* At preparatory service each communicant would come forward to the altar and lay a gift of money on it.

would sympathize with him. He succeeded in having Cornelius DeHase appointed as teacher in the gymnasium, and afterward had him elected second pastor of his own church, when Hildebrand died. The ministerium objected to DeHase's becoming his assistant. But the city council (the majority of whose members had been pleased with Untereyck's success in the catechization of the children) supported Untereyck, and ordered the ministerium to install DeHase. Finally two Pietistic ministers were called to the St. Ansgari Reformed church. Thus it gained a foothold in Bremen. But Untereyck's life was one of conflict to the end. As the leader of Pietism, he had many battles to fight. Through them all, however, he was supported by the city councillor, Dr. John Harmes. Just as Hardenberg, when the Reformed doctrines were first introduced into Bremen, had a city councillor, Van Buren, to stand by him, so Untereyck had this influential councillor as his helper. Erastianism is generally to be deplored, yet here it was the State that urged progress in the Church life, while the ministerium was opposed to it. Perhaps Untereyck would have met with less opposition, if he had been more politic and less radical. Nevertheless such a man as he was needed to break up the formalism of the age, and his work proved a great blessing to the city, and to the Reformed Church. Finally after a long pastorate of twenty-two years, on January 1, 1693, he was called to his eternal rest. He

had preached on Christmas day, but on New Year (a New Year indeed to him) he entered into an eternal jubilee year with his Master in Heaven. His dying testimony, like that of Olevianus, was one of certainty, "My soul is in a good condition. I am sure I have loved God with the tenderest love." Two days after his death the ministerium adopted an action declaring "that he was a most faithful minister, and worthy of praise, and that they heard of his death with peculiar grief." DeHase says of him, "His sermons sounded and penetrated like thunder, while his life shone like a lightning flash." He was also a hymn writer, and three hymns are ascribed to him, "Erleucht mein Licht," "Jehovah, mein höchstes Blut," and the Lord's Supper hymn, "Sieh doch da mein Fleisch und Blut." They have a true poetic ring and breathe an earnest Christian consciousness and hope.

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CHAPTER II.—SECTION II.

NETHENUS AND COPPER.

Although these two were dismissed in the Reformed Church, their history reveals that they were not dismissed for Pietism.

Samuel Nethenus was born May 18, 1628, at Rees, on the Northern Rhine. He was won for the Pietistic movement while at the high school at Geldern, and his interest in it awakened by the books of Bolton and Baxter of England, and of Tellinck and Lodenstein of Holland. In 1650 he was called to the Reformed Church of Baerl, where he labored with great success for thirty-two years. The county of Meurs, in which Baerl lay, was a strongly Reformed district, separated by Romish districts from other Reformed churches. She developed a peculiar type of Reformed consciousness. Although a member of the General Synod of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark, she did not, like the rest of the Classes, send an elder to the Synod until 1630, nor did she send her acts to the Synod. The president and secretary of the Classis did not change office as in the other Classes, but held them for life. The county was under the control of Holland from 1611 to 1702, so that the Dutch religious consciousness was strongly impressed on the land. She was strongly pre-

destinarian, and Dutch influence made her likely to receive Pietism which was so common in Holland. Nethenus began his work with great earnestness. He began holding prayer meetings and catechization meetings in 1672, twice a week in the houses. These were approved by the General Synod in 1674. A journey that he made to Holland in 1669, where he met Voet and Lodenstein, roused in him the thought that an awakening was needed in the Reformed Church. With this thought in mind, he wrote the second part of his book (which he had begun in 1657) entitled, "Light in Darkness." In this book, while urging greater subjective piety, he takes his ground strongly against the errors of Separatism. He believed with Untereyck, that the new Reformation must come within the Church, not outside of her. He followed up the publication of this book by proposing to the Classis (1671) nine propositions, urging a reformation of the Church. These were agreed to, except those which ordered the persistently ignorant to be kept from the communion, and which placed church discipline in the hands of the pastor, instead of the Presbyterium. The Classis refused these, because they said that Church discipline should be in the hands of the Presbyterium.

Nethenus gradually advanced beyond these views. He began to put all possible difficulties in the way of having communions. If Classis would not give him the right to discipline the unworthy, he would not hold com-

munions. His congregation became dissatisfied, and charged him with going away two or three weeks at a time without the knowledge of the officers. Then he would come back on Saturday just before the communion, too late to hold preparatory service, and too late for new communicants to announce their intention to commune. His motive was to compel the postponement of the communion, because he did not wish to give it to the unworthy. They also charged him with having said when the communicants appeared, "O how many dogs and swine." The Classis heard these complaints of the congregation and appointed visitors to the congregation, to whom he did not deny these charges. They admonished him to be more careful about his conduct and language. But he began in 1676 holding back persons from the communion without the authority of his eldership, which was clearly an un-Reformed proceeding. His consistory lodged complaints against him, and Classis warned him against this. But he went farther and capped the climax by suddenly announcing at the Christmas communion (1682) that there were only four converted persons in the congregation, and that the rest needed conversion. This brought matters to a crisis. Charges were brought against him and he was dismissed, but not deposed from the ministry. Goebel says that "His strict views about the communion were the root of all

his difficulty." Even his unwarranted extremes in Pietism did not cause his deposition from the ministry. Dismissed from the pastorate at Baerl, he was called to the Reformed church at Gulpen. Here opponents brought charges against him for holding prayer meetings, but the Synod sustained him and compelled his accusers to make an apology.

In 1690 he was called by the Countess of Isenburg-Budingen to Birstein (near Frankford), as her court preacher and consistorialrath. She had read his book and wanted him, for she was a pious woman, and desired to have Pietistic ministers. But he found that the state of religion was very different from that in the Northern Rhine. The Southern Rhine regions had been less affected as yet by the Pietists. Besides, the State had more authority over the Church, and that tended to blight Pietistic efforts. He could not transplant the earnest spirit of the Lower Rhine to the conservative Upper Rhine. Still he began pursuing the same methods that he had used in the Northern Rhine. As he found piety very low, he postponed the communion for half a year, so that the people might be better prepared to receive it. He also made an attempt to keep back the unworthy from the communion. In all this, his acts were approved by the ministers, and supported by the Count's brother. But complaints began to come in against him, as that he had refused the communion for three-fourths of a year to the

congregations—that he had introduced the Dutch method of sitting at the communion, instead of receiving it standing, as was the common method in the German churches, and that as in Meurs, he prayed for a foreign Prince, the Prince of Orange. These charges reveal him as a man of earnest spirit, but arbitrary and sadly lacking in tact in introducing the needed reforms. The Count therefore ordered him to appear before the council and the ministers, but Nethenus, instead of acting the part of wisdom, refused to do so, and wrote the Count a sharp letter, in which he opposed the right of the Count to rule the Church. This act was contrary to law or courtesy, and so the Count dismissed him, February 14, 1696, after he had been there almost six years. But he was not deposed for this, only dismissed from this position. The Count of Isenburg was friendly to Pietism and prayer meetings, but dismissed him for his stubbornness and disobedience. He then went to Amsterdam, where he died in 1700. He did not become a Separatist. His influence in the Church was felt long afterwards. Heppe declares that his work was rich with blessing. He seems to have impressed his spirit on the county of Meurs, where he first labored. It is still customary to hold catechism prayer meetings, at which the pastor is not present; the elders or laity discuss some part of the catechism and have a devotional service. This custom is

also followed in some other parts of Germany, as at Elberfeld.

Reiner Copper was a native of Meurs, having been born 1645. His trial sermon before the Classis of Wesel gave offense, for in it he personally attacked some of the ministers. Classis therefore suspended him. As he could not get a pastorate in the Reformed Church, he was called by the Princess Elizabeth of the Palatinate to Herford as her court preacher in 1674. There he joined himself to Separatistic meetings. In 1677 he was called to be the Reformed pastor at Mühlheim. And the next year the Duisburg Classis received him as a member, although he had been a Separatist at Herford. Here he labored with such great success that he was called to the Reformed church of Duisburg. In this large congregation his sermons drew great crowds, even from Crefeld and Meurs. He began catechism meetings and prayer meetings. This caused some opposition, but the Presbyterium ordered that, "in order to avoid all suspicion, to preserve unity, and hasten the work of the Lord and true piety, all private catechizations and meetings should be stopped and changed to public meetings." It thus prohibited private, unofficial gatherings, but in doing so, endorsed public prayer meetings. This regulation, however, brought no relief, but caused the conflict to break out anew. His colleague, Barlemeyer, demanded that this decree should be annulled, and as this was not granted, he left Duis-

burg and accepted a call to a small Reformed congregation in Julich at Kirchbarten. Copper remained in his charge for some time longer. In his house to house visitation he had come to the conviction that there were very many unworthy members in his church, and consequently he altogether refused to administer the sacraments. The Presbyterium therefore could do nothing but dismiss him. He then went to Crefeld and Wiewerd, where he became pastor of a Separatistic congregation. He died in 1693 while on a journey to Emden. Goebel says of him that, although he had to sacrifice his position, yet his efforts for earnest Christian piety and Church discipline produced the most blessed results. Copper became a Separatist, although Nethenus never left the Church ; but it is to be noticed that neither Nethenus nor Copper were dismissed from their places for being Pietists, or for merely holding prayer meetings. They were reprimanded for not holding them, as Synod required, under the supervision of the Presbyterium. But the immediate charge that led to their dismissal was their refusal to give the communion to the unworthy. They were dismissed for emphasizing what every Reformed minister in America would claim as his right, namely the right to keep the unworthy from the communion. Only they erred in themselves selecting who were the unworthy, when it was the constitutional right of the elders to decide it with them. Their cases, therefore, cannot be used as arguments against Pietism.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION III.

HENRY HORCH.

Hesse, situated so near Frankford, where Spener labored, soon felt the influence of Pietism. The coming of Untereyck as court preacher to Cassel greatly aided the movement at first. But the people of the Upper Rhine, as Hesse Darmstadt and Nassau, were colder and less inclined to experimental piety than those of the Lower Rhine, and, besides, were more under the control of the State, which was governed by the worldly elements in the Church. So there came a collision at first between Horch, the early Pietist, and the Church. His eccentricities led him to Separatism.

Henry Horch was born at Eschwege, December 12, 1652. He studied at Marburg and at Bremen, where he came under the influence of Untereyck, and was greatly affected by him. He returned to Marburg in 1674 to study medicine. But he was not satisfied. He then entered the ministry, and was soon called to the Palatinate. He was soon called to prominent positions. In 1685 he became court preacher of the Countess of Simmern at Kreuznach. Then he was called, in 1687, to become the third pastor of the Holy Ghost Church at

Heidelberg. When the Jesuits attacked the 80th answer of the Heidelberg Catechism, he boldly defended the catechism against them, and for his able defense the Reformed owe him a debt of gratitude. He then went to Frankford in 1689 as pastor of the Reformed church there. He there preached to the Jews, and astonished them by his knowledge of Hebrew and Rabbinical theology.

Horch's learning gave him such a reputation that he was called the next year to Herborn. Here he preached in the Reformed church, as well as taught in the university, for about three years. Then he began his innovations. He endeavored to have the Church service changed into a prayer meeting, after the model of the 14th chapter of 1 Corinthians. By his earnestness in catechization and pastoral work he had gained a large following in the congregation, but his colleague, Hildebrand, opposed his efforts to change the service. It happened, too, that just at the time when he was dissatisfied with their treatment of him, Klopfer, a Separatist, who was located at Greifenstein, two miles away, gained a great influence over him. Horch then began attacking the Church, just as Klopfer did. He inveigled against its low condition, using severe language against it. He also opposed sprinkling at baptism, infant baptism and the holding of the Lord's Supper without a love-feast. He was clearly departing from the Reformed doctrines, which was quite a serious matter, when it is remembered that he was a pro-

fessor of theology. He was, therefore, suspended, November 1697, from his position as professor and preacher by the Count of Nassau Dillenburg, although the city council, the guilds and the congregation interceded for him, so great was his popularity. His dismissal caused a great sensation all through Nassau and Hesse. It led to an open rupture between the Separatists and the Church. In the Northern Rhine the General Synod of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark, by wise regulations, in 1674 retained the best elements of Pietism in the Church, but here the State officials were not always so wise. Still, when Horch was dismissed, the ministers and professors saw the necessity of elevating the piety of the Church. So the magistrates of the city aided them in establishing prayer meetings and worship in the private families and the homes of the members. Thus, though the Church cast out Horch for his un-Reformed doctrines, it countenanced Pietism, which ever afterwards became a great blessing to Nassau and Herborn university.

Horch remained a Separatist for three years, during which he suffered many persecutions, as imprisonment at Marburg. He also revealed symptoms of an unbalanced mind, which explain some of his erratic actions. But in 1700 he changed again, and wrote to the Landgrave Charles of Hesse-Cassel, and also to Professor Hildebrand at Herborn, confessing that he had brought disorder into the Church, and asking the forgiveness of Hildebrand, and

of the whole theological faculty of Herborn. He acknowledged his mistake in 1702 to the Count of Nassau Dillenburg, and declared that he had returned to the Reformed Church again, which he showed by attending the Reformed communion again, although he said he could not recognize infant baptism as a command of God. He spent the later years of his life as one of the editors of the Marburg Bible, a mystical and prophetical work, and died 1729. He was a man of remarkable gifts and great earnestness, but unbalanced and erratic.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION IV.

JOACHIM NEANDER.

Neander was the father of German Reformed hymnology. He was born at Bremen in 1650. His father was a teacher in the Latin school at Bremen, but died when his son was sixteen years of age. After his father's death he entered (1666) the Reformed university at Bremen as a student of theology.* This university had no sympathy with Pietism then, and Neander sympathized with it against Pietism. But Untereyck's sermons had already caused a sensation. So one Sunday in autumn, 1670, Neander, with two of his companions, went in sport to hear the famous Pietist preach. Man proposes, but God disposes. Neander went to laugh, but stayed to pray. For in the church the hand of the Lord laid hold on the young man's heart. Untereyck's holy earnestness and the power of the truth so touched his heart, that he was entirely overcome. Untereyck's words were arrows to produce conviction. Neander was unable to restrain his feelings. The tears flowed in streams down his face, when Untereyck closed his sermon with a free prayer, in which, like Jacob at Peniel, he wrestled with God for a

* This was situated in the old Catharine cloister in the Sögerstrasse, in which the city library and the first polytechnic school are at present.



JOACHIM NEANDER

blessing. As suddenly as a lightning flash from heaven, God appeared to Neander, as he had done to Paul outside of Damascus, and as quickly changed the reviler into the seeker—the ridiculer into the preacher. His self-righteousness was cast to the winds. His cry was like Saul's: "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" How could he find relief from his burden of sin and guilt? He thought of only one way. He would go to the man, whose preaching so strangely moved him. As he left the church, he told his companions that during the sermon he had decided for Christ. They had noticed that he was affected by the sermon, but, like Saul's companions, they had not heard the voice of God calling to them. They tried to dissuade him from going to Untereyck. Ah, the ridicule that Neander had used against the Pietists, was now used against him, as they tried to laugh him out of his serious mood. They said, it would be a misfortune, if so genial and jovial a companion should degenerate into a Pietistic hypocrite.

But Neander, in spite of their raillery, remained firm. Every soul has a supreme religious crisis, and Neander met his here, as he left his companions, and went direct to Untereyck's house. This was not the first time that Untereyck had conferred with anxious souls seeking light. His house was often an inquiry-room, where many seekers found God and forgiveness. Untereyck became here a new Ananias, for just as Ananias led Saul

to Christ, he led Neander to Jesus, so that the scales dropped from Neander's eyes, as they had from Saul's. Now Neander became indeed, as his name suggested, a new man—another man, a Neander in reality, as well as in name. John Augustus Neander, the great Church historian of this century, was a convert from Judaism, and then took the name of Neander, because he became a new man in Christ. So Joachim Neander, more than a century before, gave up the Judaic Phariseism of his life, and became a new man in Christ, as he learned the blessings of experimental religion. He describes his condition as an unconverted person in a hymn based on the 25th Psalm: "*Ich schäme mich vor deinem Thron*" (I am ashamed before thy throne). There are some in the Church, who do not believe in sudden conversions, but here is the leading hymn writer of the Reformed, changed from a mocker against Pietism into an earnest Christian in almost an instant under Untereyck's preaching. While many conversions may be gradual, yet it can not be denied that some are sudden as here. His conversion is also an illustration of the manner in which God honors the faithful preaching of His Word.*

* There is another story of Neander's conversion that has come down to us. On one occasion, while on a hunting expedition, he followed game until night overtook him, and he discovered that he was lost in the woods and hills. He wandered about awhile in a dangerous locality, and suddenly discovered himself in a most dangerous position. One step more, and he would have gone over the dangerous precipice into eternity. Overcome by horror, he was for the moment deprived of speech. Then, in his moment of danger,

Neander became a regular attendant of Untereyck's preaching, and an ardent follower and admirer of him. His ideas concerning the ministry changed entirely. Before he had looked on it rather as a trade, a business, and had he entered it in that spirit, he would have gone about his duties in a perfunctory way. But now he realized its grave responsibilities, although these were compensated by the hope of its joys. Having found the Savior precious to his own soul, he knew how to lead others to a personal salvation. In the spring of 1671 he accepted the offer of several French Reformed families at Frankford, to take their sons, five in number, to the university of Heidelberg and superintend their studies. He then returned with them to their home in Frankford in 1673. Here, during 1673-4, he became an attendant on Spener's prayer meetings. He also was active in the French Reformed church there, the president of which was the father of Cornelius DeHase at Bremen. But his most important development at Frankford was his writing of hymns. Schütz, the Jurist and a Lutheran, who attended Spener's meetings, was the first to discover

like Olevianus in the river Eure, he vowed that he would consecrate himself entirely to God, if God would preserve his life. He was enabled, by God's providence, to find his way out of danger and to reach home in safety. This story is rejected by Iken, Neander's biographer, as a later adornment without historic foundation. Goebel himself says, he heard a similar story told of Evertsen, the friend of Neander. At any rate, if true, it is very difficult to decide at what period of his life it took place, or to harmonize it with the historic story of his conversion in Untereyck's church.

Neander's genius for hymn writing. This was probably the first time that Lutherans recognized hymns that came from Reformed hymn writers. It is, however, to be noted, that Neander's hymns were sung at Lutheran prayer meetings, long before they were sung at the Reformed conventicles, because the latter clung mainly to the Psalms in singing. In the spring of 1674 he was called as rector of the Latin school at Dusseldorf. This has been in its day one of the most famous schools in Germany. It had been founded the middle of the previous century, when the illustrious Monheim was its first rector. It became an evangelical centre for the whole of the Protestant Rhine land, and rose to great prosperity, having had at one time two thousand students.

But when Neander was called to it, it was shorn of its former glory. For the country around Dusseldorf had fallen to the Duke of Pfalz Neuburg, a bigoted Catholic, who made Dusseldorf his capital. During the Thirty Years' War the school had been given to the Jesuits, and when the war was over, it still remained in their hands. So the Reformed, to obviate the necessity of sending their children to the Jesuit's school, started a parochial school of their own, for the benefit of their congregation. This parochial school, under the control of the Presbyterium of the Reformed Church, was the one to which Neander was called. He also aided Lursen, the first pastor of the congregation, in preaching and visitation, although with-

out becoming officially an assistant. In 1667 the red dysentery became an epidemic, and so many members of the congregation sickened and died, that Neander had to aid the pastor very much in his visitation.

He also began in 1665 to hold prayer meetings, as Untereyck and Spener had done before him. Through his faithful pastoral work he gained a large personal influence over the people, and his conventicles soon became popular. But, alas, they caused trouble, as he was not yet a member of the Synod, and especially as he just then refused to sign the Reformed Church Order and give his subscription to the Heidelberg Catechism. He also, with his colleague, remained away from church on Sunday and feast days. While his audiences in the conventicles increased, it was noticed that the audiences of Lursen decreased, for which he was censured by the Presbyterium in October, 1676. Beside these charges, he was not blameless in the management of his school. For he laid out a plan of studies, without consulting the Presbyterium, or without getting their sanction. He postponed examinations, and made repairs on the building without notifying them. He took vacations without waiting for their approval. These were the main charges against him. Lursen, who seems to have become jealous of Neander's popularity, and who was the main cause of the opposition to him, was not an opposer of prayer meet-

ings, for he had them afterwards at Dantzic.* He was only opposed to their being held in an independent way, without the authority of the Presbyterium, or the pastor, for this the General Synod had ordered. So the Presbyterium brought charges against Neander, February 3, 1677, and suspended him from his position as rector, and forbade him from preaching in their pulpit. They then presented him with a declaration, which he signed two weeks later, in which he gave his adherence to the Heidelberg Catechism and the Church Order, condemned separation from the Church, like Labadianism, and promised not to hold private prayer meetings without the authority of the pastor or Presbyterium. This act of Neander, in signing this declaration, was one of the noblest acts of his life, for by it he had the courage to confess that he was wrong. It was not the question of conventicles that was at stake, but the question of obedience to the Church laws, and the authority of the Presbyterium in the parish and school. He had been inclining toward separation. This declaration brought him back into full sympathy with the Church, whose honored laborer he afterwards became.

He resumed teaching in the school, to the great joy of his scholars. Lursen soon afterward resigned (June, 1677). Neander was destined to several disappointments and slights. Melchior was elected pastor of the church,

* Koch, Vol. VI., page 22. Iken Life of Neander, pages 140, 288 and 289.

which disappointed his hopes in that direction. Then he was not even elected assistant pastor, but to make the disappointment more galling to him, his own colleague was elected into the place he hoped for himself. He also hoped to be elected to the St. Remberti church at Bremen, but was disappointed there. He, therefore, began to feel dissatisfied, and to long for a more congenial sphere. But none opened to him for more than a year. Meanwhile he sought to flee from his troubles and disappointments, by communing with God and writing hymns. Sad hearts sing sweet songs. David, the sweet singer of Israel, sang his sweetest Psalms when hunted like a partridge over the mountains. So Neander, the sweet singer of the Reformed Church, sang his sweetest songs when in sorrow. There is a little valley situated about three miles east of Dusseldorf, near the little town of Mettmann, which to this day bears the name of Neanderthal (Neander's Valley). It is formed by pretty high limestone cliffs on both banks of the Dussel, a tributary of the Rhine. These cliffs show a variety of formations, and bear the name at present of "The Rocks," and are quite woody.* In it is a cavern,† where the legend says he lived without food for months in a cave in summer.‡

* Two railroads reach the place. The station of the Berg-Mark Railroad, on the south side of the valley, is Hochdale, while on the north side of the valley is the Rhenish station Neanderthal.

† The place has been very much changed by the marble quarries recently opened.

‡ Winkworth *Singers of Germany*, p. 286.

But the legend is not true. Miss Winkworth seems to leave one under the impression that his persecutors were the Reformed Presbyterium, and to escape from them, he went to Neanderthal. This can not be true, for they suspended Neander during February, a season of the year when it would be too cold for him to live out of doors very much. Besides, his suspension was not for months, but only for two weeks. Iken* says, the tradition says his persecutors were Catholics. This might be possible, for the ruler of the land, the Duke of Pfalz Neuburg, was a Romanist. But it is altogether likely that the legend is an exaggeration of the fact that he would go there, either alone or with some of his students, and while there he, in communing with nature and with God, would write his songs. Here tradition glorified Neander into a Protestant saint. To this valley, made sacred by Neander's life, Tersteegen would come many years after and hold prayer meetings, and have the hymns of Neander sung on the very spot where he wrote them. Here Neander wrote his hymns for his friends at Frankford and Bremen, and also for his scholars.†

Neander was called as assistant in St. Martin's church, Bremen on Whitsunday, 1679, Untereyck and DeHase

* Life of Neander, p. 150.

† We have gone somewhat at length into this part of Neander's life, because some of the enemies of Pietism have said that Neander was put out of the Church for holding prayer meetings and for being a Pietist. We have shown the falsity of this. For Neander remained in the Church and was called afterward to Bremen to a Reformed church.

being the other two pastors. Joyfully he accepted the call, for it was the church of his conversion. And besides he would have congenial colleagues in Untereyck and DeHase, both of whom sympathized with his views. He therefore asked the Presbyterium of Dusseldorf to release him from his position as rector of the school. They did so, but in doing this, stated that they regretted his departure, and bore witness to the faithfulness of his service. He entered on his duties at Bremen, July, 1679. His salary was only forty thalers a year. His position there was a very laborious one. His duty was to preach on extra occasions, to take the place of either of the other pastors if sick, and to hold the services at 5 A. M. Sunday. (For he had never been ordained, but was only a student of theology.*) One can imagine him going through the streets before that hour in winter, bearing a lantern or torch in his hand, and then on an empty stomach (for that was the custom at Bremen then), hold a service in a cold, dimly lighted church. But still he was happy in his spiritual birthplace under his spiritual father, Untereyck.† Here Neander published in 1679 the first hymn book of

* Iken Life of Neander, page 165.

† The house in which he lived stands next to the new pastor's house, as if it were stuck on to the choir of the church. It was a small two-story house of red brick. On the stone door posts are figures and the year 1639, together with an almost intelligible motto, "Gott sei Schutz und Schirm bei seiner Kirche." (God be protector and shelter to His Church.) Upstairs is a large room still used by the congregation for catechization. (See Iken Life of Neander, page 164.)

the Reformed of Germany (for they generally used Psalms)—his “Hymns of the Covenant.” He was the poet of the Pietists. What Spener and Untereyck wrote in prose, he wrote in poetry. He was the poet of the Cocceian school or the Federal Theology, and sings it in rhyme, as Lampe afterwards wrote it in dogmatics. His aim in publishing his hymns was to check formalism in the Church, and to stimulate experimental piety. Its title is, “A and O, Joachim Neander’s Exercise of Faith and Love.” He followed the Reformed custom of printing the melodies with the hymns, and composed some of the melodies himself, as Luther had done, for like Luther and Zwingli, he was a musician.

But Neander was not permitted to live long here. His work was hardly begun before it was done. Within a year he sickened and died, May 31, 1680. His illness was short, but severe. His death-bed was a happy one. He strengthened himself by repeating Bible verses and his own hymns. One day a severe thunder storm came up. He expressed a strong desire that the lightning flash might be his chariot of fire to take him to heaven. His physician asked him on the day he died how he felt. He replied: “With my soul it is well, but my body is feeble.” He asked that the seventh to the tenth chapter of Hebrews might be read (they contrasted the old and the new covenant). His last words were Isa. 54 : 10 : “For the mountains shall depart and the hills be removed, but my kind-

ness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed." The day of Pentecost was the day of his death. He was called to Bremen on that day, and a year later on it he was called to heaven. On the day which commemorates the tongues of fire on the disciples' heads which gave them new tongues, Neander went to heaven to speak in a new tongue the language of heaven. The sweet singer of the Reformed Church joined the song of the redeemed in heaven. "His sick-bed," as Hase says, "was a six days' pulpit, from which he preached much." Untereyck preached on the following Sunday a memorial sermon on the third chapter of John.*

Neander died before he became famous. He little dreamed of his future fame. In vain does one search through the writings of Untereyck, or even Lampe, for any reference to him. Professor Iken, in 1741, mentions Cornelius DeHase as a poet, but not a word does he say about Neander. Neander's life was short, but it did not end with his death. It is given to a few to gain double immortality; some are immortal on earth, as well as in heaven. Like Abel, Neander, being dead, yet speaketh. His life comes ringing down through the ages to our time through his immortal hymns. Who knows but the Pietistic movement of Untereyck might have lost much of its influence,

* Under Neander's portrait at Dusseldorf are the words "Immovable in the Lord." That was a key to his life—the covenant sure and unchangeable—the sure mercies of David.

if Neander's hymns had not popularized it. Achilles needed a Homer to sing his praises. Methodism needed a Charles Wesley. Protestantism needed a Luther to write its hymns, and Pietism needed a Neander. His hymns also inspired new life in the congregation, and they became popular. "I had rather write an immortal hymn," says a writer, "than do anything else." Neander has written such hymns, and they have made history—the history of God's Church. They led to awakenings and revivals in the Church. They soon began to be favorites, and were first sung at prayer meetings and in the social circle of the home, before they were introduced into the churches.

They were first found in Luppian's hymn book, published at Wesel, 1692. The Reformed hymn book of Herborn in 1694 credited thirty-four of its hymns to him, although not all did belong to him. The Bremen hymn book then received them 1698, the Lippe 1722. They gradually became such general favorites, that at last the Reformed of the Northern Rhine received them, although the opposition of those who clung to Psalm singing disappeared very slowly. The General Synod of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark, after using Psalms for a century and a half, ordered in 1731 a new hymn book, which should have hymns as well as Psalms. This, like the books of Bremen and Lippe, added one hundred and fifty hymns to the one hundred and fifty Psalms already in use. This hymn book first appeared in 1736, and

contained forty of Neander's hymns, seven of Lampe's, and eight of Luther's. In 1736 the King of Prussia ordered Neander's hymns to be used in the Reformed cathedral at Berlin. Neander's hymns are now found in all hymn books, Lutheran as well as Reformed.

Neander founded a school of hymnists in the Reformed Church, of whom Lampe and Tersteegen are the representatives. He was the Paul Gerhardt of the Reformed Church. He was only thirty years old when he died. If he could write such hymns before he was thirty years old, it is probable that he would have developed into a greater poet than Gerhardt, if he had lived to become old and mature. His precocity prophesied great brilliancy as a poet. The beauty and power of his hymns is remarkable. His hymns are subjective, emphasizing personal, experimental religion. His most famous hymn is, "Lobe den Herrn, den mächtigen Koenig der Ehren." (We give it, although it is impossible to reproduce it in apt translation.)

Praise ye the Lord! He is King over all creation!
Praise to the Lord! O my soul, as the God of salvation!
Join in the song, psaltry and harp roll along,
Praise in your solemn vibration.

Praise to the Lord! who in glorious majesty reigning,
Beareth thee upward, on wings like the eagle's sustaining—
Thee to uphold, arms of His mercy enfold—
Faithful 'mid all thy complaining.

Praise to the Lord ! who with honor and blessing hath crowned thee ;

Pouring His gifts out of heaven like showers around thee ;
Think of it too, what the Almighty can do,
How by His love He hath bound thee.

Praise to the Lord ! and let all that is in me adore Him,
All that hath breath sing, with Abraham's children before Him ;

He is our light, fountain of glory and might,
Come, let us kneel and adore Him.

(Translated by Rev. Thomas C. Porter, D. D.)

Some interesting illustrations are given in connection with this hymn. It was based on the 100th, 103d and 106th Psalms. It has been a great favorite in the royal family of Prussia. It was the favorite hymn of King Frederick William IV. Its melody was played every hour from the clock tower of the Garrison church at Potsdam, and it was everywhere sung on June 1, 1879, the King's golden anniversary of his marriage.

In March, 1813, when Germany was at war against Napoleon, an infantry regiment gathered around the Plantage at Potsdam for a retreat. The chaplain found the Kolberg battalion, and asked the commander if there could not be a church service there. It was no sooner suggested, than it was carried out. Two or three thousand men gathered in a circle close to the Garrison church, whose chimes played "Lobe den Herrn" every hour. The chimes would play the simple melody the first time, and then follow it with the full harmony. The

citizens of Potsdam gathered in the centre of the military circle to hear the service. Just as the minister was about to begin, the musical clock began to play at the hour of ten. When the last note was done, the chaplain began and utilized the hymn, reminding them that the hour had come to praise God's name. He then referred to the tomb of Frederick the Great in the neighboring Garrison church, and reminded them of their duty to God and their land. The sermon produced a deep impression, and the officers and men went away, renewing their vows to God and strengthened. They could praise God with the hymn, even though they were on a retreat.

In 1800 King Frederick II. of Prussia made a tour of Silesia, and with his wife visited the mines of Waldenburg. Part of the festival given in his honor was in the mines, where the King's boat floated on the water. The boat was conveyed into the dark cavern, out of which the stream issues. At a distance of every ten fathoms, wax tapers threw their radiance across the waters. From a boat stationed seventy fathoms from the mouth of the cavern mountain music gave to the weird and unearthly scene a still more impressive character. As the royal party proceeded, suddenly out of the dim distance came the music of the choir, "Lobe den Herrn." The King took the Queen's hand and said: "My favorite Psalm, this is heavenly," and turned to the rower and bade him row more slowly. Suddenly the boat turned itself and

floated into a radiantly lighted grotto, where the hymn was again sung and a table spread. The royal couple were greatly delighted and said to the captain of the mines, "we shall never forget this."

Another of his hymns, "Sieh hier bin ich," is famous. It is based on the 51st Psalm, the eighth verse. We give a translation.

Here, behold me, as I cast me,
'Neath Thy throne, O glorious King,
Sorrows thronging, childlike longing,
Son of Man, to Thee I bring.
Let me find Thee,
Me, a poor and worthless thing.

Look upon me, Lord, I pray Thee,
Let Thy Spirit dwell in mine,
Thou hast sought me, Thou hast bought me,
Only Thee to know I pine.
Let me find Thee,
Take my heart and own me Thine.

Naught I ask for, naught I strive for,
But Thy grace is rich and free,
That Thou givest, whom Thou lovest,
And who truly cleave to Thee.
Let me find Thee,
He hath all things who hath Thee.

Earthly treasure, mirth and pleasure,
Glorious name or golden hoard,
Are but weary, void and dreary
To the heart that longs for God.
Let me find Thee,
I am Thine, O mighty Lord.

(Translated by Miss Winkworth.)

Some beautiful incidents are told in connection with this hymn. It once produced a great change in the village of Ochsenwirthshaus, between Boblingen and Tübingen. In 1790 there lived in the public house a man named Binder. He grew rich, but as he became richer, he became the more worldly every year. He allowed things to be done which were against right and conscience, while before the world he appeared an honorable, respectable man. One day he drove on business to Altdorf in company with his brother. On the way the desire came to him to sing this hymn. He had joined in singing it in church on the Sunday previous. The hymn made such an impression on him that he hastened home. The hour for his salvation had come. When he arrived at home, he unbosomed himself to a confidential friend, telling him of his experience and asking him to pray for him. They prayed together. Grace conquered him, for he gave up his tavern and broke away from his old companions. He told them he wanted to see them at his house only when they had decided to serve God and to leave sin. His conversion produced a great stir in the little village. He became a blessing to the whole village. His house, where before dances and drinking had been the custom, now became the seat of prayer meetings. God saw fit to send sickness on him, so that he was sick for two years. But his sick-bed became a place of great blessing, for he would talk of nothing else but the grace and mercy of God. Just before

he died he received the Lord's Supper with such humility, that his pastor said he had never seen such a penitent communicant. Thus this hymn was the means of his conversion.

John Henry Palm, an honorable citizen of Eslingen, who generally lived at Vienna, prepared himself for death on Holy Week, 1710. He rested with the greatest confidence on the words of the hymn, "Meinen Jesum lass ich nicht." (My Jesus will I not leave.) They stayed his soul till his last hour. And as he died, he uttered the last two lines of this hymn.

CHAPTER III.

THE VICTORY OF PIETISM.

Pietism, which was as old as the Reformed Church, though not fully developed, now at last attained full recognition and sway in the Church. This is shown by the way in which Synods and Princes and representative theologians endorsed it.

SECTION I.

• ITS ENDORSEMENT BY THE SYNODS AND PRINCES.

The only thoroughly organized General Synod of Germany was that of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark on the Northern Rhine. Other Synods, as in the Palatinate and in Brieg, lacked two elements of pure Presbyterian government: *a)* They did not have elders in them; *b)* They were called by the Prince of the land, and not by the Church itself. Only this General Synod, if we except the French Synods, had these peculiarities. As it, however, was free from the State, it was the freer to develop itself, and was thus a truer representative of the Reformed Church than the others. The subject of conventicles came up before the Duisburg Classis in 1670, when they took action on the case of Schluter, a member of the Reformed

church at Wesel, who attacked the Church and demanded the exclusion of the unworthy from the communion. The Classis felt that his bitter and unjust complaints should be answered and stopped. So it appointed the professors of Duisburg university to reply to it. The trial of Schluter took place before the Classis, November 4 and 5, 1670, in Wesel. He declared that no member ought to be forced to go and hear an unconverted minister, and finally ended by denying the authority of the Synod over him, and appealed to the Episcopal authority of the Elector of Brandenburg over the Church. The Classis then decided to report all to the Electoral authorities, and pray them to regulate it so that there might be no further separations from the Church by Separatists. Schluter appealed from this and immediately left for Herford. The General Synod, when the appeal came before it, decided that as he had already separated himself from the Church, it would give him another chance ; and if he should refuse to obey the warning of its secretary, he should be deposed. Schluter refused to return, and remained at Herford.* This action of the Synod was precipitated by the coming of Labadie to Germany, which created a great sensation. Immediately after this General Synod, Colerus, the president, went to Berlin to confer with the Elector about the welfare of the 70,000 Reformed in Julich and Cleve, and

* From this we see that Schluter was put out of the Church, not for Pietism or for holding prayer meetings, but because he was disobedient to the Church and separated himself from it.

about the religious agreement with the Duke of Pfalz-Neuburg. When the acts of the Synod, with the discussions about Schluter, were laid before him, the Elector conferred with him about the Separatism of Labadie, and also the Landgravine Hedwig Sophia. The matter came up again, as the Cleve Synod took action against those who separated from the Church in 1673. But this action did not mend matters at all. For by the next year it was found that these severe measures only angered earnest people in the congregations, and rather helped than hindered Separatism. The next General Synod, therefore, 1674, took an action approving of Pietism and prayer meetings, but disapproving of Separatism; and ordering that prayer meetings, when held, should be under the supervision of the pastor and the Presbyterium.* Thus the General Synod pursued the wise policy of overcoming Labadianism outside of the Church by urging Pietism within the Church, that is, by trying to elevate the life of the members of the Church. It ordered greater diligence and activity on the part of the pastors. The Mark Synod of 1676, and the Clève Synod and the General Synod of 1677 took action, "that thereafter each member of the Synod should not only attend to the study of orthodoxy, but of piety, too." They desired all presidents of Provincial Synods to urge more piety on the ministers and

* For the full action of the General Synod, see Heppe's History of Pietism, page 484, and Goebel's History of the Rhenish Westphalian Church, Vol. II., page 327.

members, and to appoint a special commission, whose duty it shall be to prepare a work which would reveal the sentiment of the Synod. The commission did not produce a work, because William Dieterici published, in 1677, a work entitled "The True Inward and Outward Christian." This before its appearance had received the approval of the Mark Synod of 1677 and the theological faculty of Herborn, 1680. "This book," says Goebel,* "shows how entirely this Pietistic movement was a Reformed one, for he refers in it to the fathers of the Reformed Church, Calvin, Martyr and Tossanus." The influence of Labadie at Herford, where Dieterici afterwards lived, is not noticeable in the book. But his views in it are like Lodenstein's and Untereyck's. The Mark Synod was so pleased with it that it prayed God's blessing on it. The work had a large circulation and did a good work in showing the difference between Pietism and Separatism. "This book," says Goebel, "is an illustration of the new and strong Christian life that revealed itself in the Church." But the difficulties with Nethenus brought these subjects before the Synod again, and in 1683 it again gave a deliverance that Separatism is to be met by elevating the spiritual life of the Church: (1) By discipline against gross sinners in the congregation; (2) by more attention to catechization; (3) by clearer and plainer presentation of the truth; (4) by care-

* Of Rhenish Westphalian Church, Vol. II, page 332, note.

ful visitation of those inclined to error. Thus the General Synod not only approved of Pietism by its action of 1674, but now approved of Church discipline of the unworthy, which was the very point desired by many Labadists who had left the Church. The Synod of Julich, in 1685, supplemented this action by ordering weekly catechization in addition to the Sabbath afternoon sermon on the catechism, and recommending prayer meetings to the members of the Church. The other Synods took similar action, urging stricter Sabbath observance and a reformation of the life of the Church. Thus Pietism received the approval of the great General Synod of the Reformed in Germany. "Prayer meetings after 1700 at Mühlheim and Duisburg, and other places in the neighborhood, were held by the pastors and permitted by the Synod, and brought great blessings, Tersteegen being the richest fruit, and in this century since 1843 they have again arisen to their old strength as a salt and leaven of the congregation."*

Another important Reformed organization was the Coetus at Emden. This, the most venerable organization of the Reformed in Germany, was affected by the Pietistic movement. The East Friesian Church, of which it was a part, had been originally organized by Lasco, who was one of the originators of conventicles in London, and it had never lost his impress. Besides, the Church was in close

* Goebel History of the Rhenish Westphalian Church, Vol. II., page 319.

relations with the Reformed Church of Holland, as the Dutch language was largely used. Thus, the Pietism so common in the Dutch Church, easily affected this Church. It therefore offered no opposition to Pietism, and soon its representative men, even the presidents of the Coetus, were Pietists.

William Alardin was born at Bremen, but was brought under the Dutch influence at the universities of Leyden and Groningen. He was an admirer of Cocceius. He was pastor of the Reformed church at Emden for forty-one years (1666-1707), and was president of the Coetus for twenty-one years.* “He was a veritable Boanerges, a son of thunder, who could shake up men’s hearts by the law, and then, like Barnabas, the son of consolation, bind up their wounds, so that they felt themselves in heaven with Christ.” He was in close sympathy with his younger colleague and successor as president of the Coetus, Ernst W. Buchfelder. The latter was born at Bentheim, June 5, 1645. He studied law, but was converted at Cassel through Untereyck and led to study theology. He studied under Voet and Lodenstein in Holland, but he was most of all a disciple and follower of Untereyck, with whom he stayed two years at Bremen. His association with Untereyck led him to entire consecration to the Lord’s work. He was called to Emden as rector of the Latin school, and then as pastor in 1679. In 1687 he

* See Ritschl’s History of Pietism, page 377.

was called to be inspector and consistorialrath of Isenburg-Budingen, and then pastor at Mühlheim on the Ruhr, but was again called as pastor to Emden, where he died in 1711, having been president of the Coetus for the last four years of his life. He was a man of deep religious experience, an Enoch walking with God. He was the author of only one German hymn, "Erleucht mich Herr mein Licht," but it is a jewel of Reformed hymnody, says Koch. It was probably written in the memorable year, when he heard Untereyck. These men labored for twenty years at Emden, and as presidents of the Coetus exerted great influence to introduce strict discipline, made the Coetus more careful in its examination of candidates, and as presidents made tours of visitation through the churches. Thus Pietists held the highest positions in the oldest Reformed organization in Germany. In their case Pietism did not lead them to be looked upon with suspicion, but with honor.

Pietism was also recognized and protected by the Elector of Brandenburg, later King of Prussia, who was politically the leader of the Reformed of Germany. As he was the head of the Reformed Church in Brandenburg, his actions committed that church to Pietism. When the Lutherans of Saxony drove Spener out, who was it that received Spener and his Pietists? The Reformed Elector of Brandenburg, who espoused their cause and appointed Spener pastor of the largest Lutheran church in Berlin.

The Lutherans have the Reformed to thank that Pietism in their Church was not crushed. To still further aid Pietism, the Elector of Brandenburg founded a university for them, that they might be able to perpetuate themselves. His founding of the University of Halle for them is very significant. It showed his endorsement of Pietism. It was the first illustration where a Prince founded a university for a religion other than his own. When collections were taken for it, the Reformed Synod of the Northern Rhine raised yearly collections for it, although the university was Lutheran, and although they had their own university at Duisburg to support. When the King of Prussia married his third wife, the Countess Sophia Louisa of Mecklenburg, Pietism assumed such a complete control of the court under the leadership of Porst, that prayer meetings were held in the royal castle, in which the King himself seemed to have participated.* Noltenius, the King's Reformed court preacher, held prayer meetings in the Reformed gymnasium in 1731, and Pietistic movements were fostered by the later Kings of Prussia after Frederick the Great. Thus King Frederick William III. formed Bible Societies and gave encouragement to the work of Elizabeth Fry. Thus the leading Reformed churches of Germany endorsed Pietism.

* See Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, article Spener.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION II.
ITS ENDORSEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE THEOLOG-
IANS OF THE CHURCH.

A) John Henry Hottinger.

John Henry Hottinger was a member of the famous Swiss family of that name at Zurich, but came as professor of theology to Marburg in 1705. Following the example of the Lutheran, Franke, at Halle, he founded an orphans' home at Marburg, of which a Swiss candidate for the ministry named Giezentanner became preceptor. The latter seems to have been an Inspirationist, for he claimed to have special revelations and direct commands from God. This fact he declared in a sermon which produced great commotion, and an investigation of him was ordered. Hottinger also came under suspicion because of his close connection with the orphanage, but the trial proved his innocence. Still Hottinger had to take an oath that he was free from such views. But Separatism was under suspicion at the court of Hesse-Cassel, and the Landgrave became suspicious lest there might be some of it lurking among the theological faculty at Marburg. He therefore ordered them to give an opinion whether since the days of the apostles ministers could expect special revelations from

heaven. Hottinger turned the answering of this over to his colleagues, Dusing and Kirchmeier, and would have nothing to do with it. But the Landgrave ordered that Hottinger should give an exact statement of his views. Hottinger therefore prepared a large work for print. But before it was printed, the Landgrave ordered it to be brought to Cassel for examination. Hottinger in it declared that no revelation could come to God's people except on dark points of Scripture, and as to the Inspirationists, who claimed to have these revelations, they must be judged by their works, which time would reveal. But the Landgrave was not satisfied with this reply, as it was not decisive enough against the Inspirationists. He ordered Hottinger either to retract his position or resign his professorship. Hottinger therefore resigned his professorship at Marburg, but he did not by it lose standing as a Reformed minister, for he was called to one of the leading Reformed churches in the Palatinate at Frankenthal. And in 1723 his great gifts secured for him a theological professorship at Heidelberg, where he died, highly honored by the Reformed Church, in 1750.

B) Coprad Mel.

One of the brightest lights of the Hessian Church was Conrad Mel, whose prominence reveals that even the State authorities in Hesse-Cassel had learned at last to tolerate Pietism. Mel has been called "The Spener of

Hesse-Cassel," and was a worthy successor of Untereyck, who had been court preacher at Cassel. Mel was born at Gudensberg in Hesse-Cassel, August 14, 1666. He studied at Bremen, where he came under the influence of Untereyck. He called Untereyck his "Gamaliel," at whose feet, like Paul, he sat. After completing his studies at Groningen, the Landgravine of Hesse-Cassel, a princess of Curland, sent him as pastor to Mitau, in Poland, 1690. After a pastorate also at Memel, his rare gifts led the Elector of Brandenburg to appoint him his court preacher at Königsberg and professor in the university there. Here he held conventicles on Sunday evenings. So great a preacher and scholar could not remain unnoticed by his native land. So the Landgrave of Hesse called him, in 1705, as rector of Hersfeld and inspector of the Reformed churches of that district. Here he remained for twenty-eight years. He introduced thorough scholarship into the school and urged the development of piety as well as of the intellect. He urged the students to attend prayer meetings and catechization. His efforts resulted in a great spiritual awakening in his district. His school prospered so that it became the largest in Hesse, surpassing even the university of Marburg in the number of its students. Some of the Marburg students came to it to get a more thorough study of Greek, Hebrew and history, as well as to attend his catechetical lectures, which were famous. Like the Lutheran school of Pietists at Halle, he founded

an orphans' home in 1709. He found a patron for his movements in the Landgravine of Hesse, who highly honored him and sympathized with him in his work. This orphanage was large enough to contain twenty-four orphans and was named after the Landgravine. He also gained great reputation as a writer. His prayer book, issued in 1715, called "The Delight of the Saints in Jehovah," became very popular. It was found in the library of the Prince as well as in the home of the farmer. It reached its sixteenth edition by 1783, and is still an honored book in Hesse, especially in the neighborhood of Hersfeld. He died May 3, 1733, after saying to those around him: "My house is promised." His death caused universal sorrow throughout all the land. Many beautiful things were said of him at his grave, but the best was, that in all his twenty-eight years of service at Hersfeld no one had ever seen him angry. When the Chapter church became a ruin in 1761, his grave was lost, but his name remains enbalméd in the hearts of the Hessian people. He combined in a wonderful way breadth and exactness of thought with depth of piety, theological research with practical tact. He was noted as a pulpit orator and was the great leader of Hessian Pietism there in his day. ●

C) Frederick A. Lampe.

Frederick A. Lampe was, says Goebel, "the greatest theologian in the German Reformed Church since the Reformation, and the most influential in the eighteenth

century.”* Theleman† quoting from Goebel says: “One cannot sufficiently estimate the influence of Lampe even to-day, and in this respect place him beside Bengel fifty years later, and Schleiermacher a century later.” Their tributes to him reveal that the most representative theologian of the German Reformed Church was a Pietist. He completes the victory of Pietism in the Reformed Church.

He was born February 18, 1683, at Detmold in Lippe. His father was the second pastor of the Reformed church there, and afterwards pastor at Frankford on the Main, and court preacher of the Elector of Brandenburg at Konigsburg. Lampe could say:

“My boast is not that I deduce my birth,
From loins enthroned, the rulers of the earth.
But higher far my proud pretensions rise
The son of parents passed into the skies.”

—*Couper*.

He was descended from pious ancestry on all sides. His paternal grandmother was related to the house of Bourbon, for she was descended from the Huguenots. Her ancestors, the d’Herlins, sealed their fate with their blood, by being beheaded at Valenciennes, 1567, on the same day and place that DeBres, the author of the Belgic Confession, was hung. His maternal grandfather was Swiss. His name was Zeller, and he was superintendent

* History of Rhenish Westphalian Church, Vol. II. pages 403 and 432.

† Life of Lampe, introduction.

of the Reformed church of Lippe. Zeller was descended from one of the patrician families of Zurich. His maternal grandmother was descended from the Dutch refugees, who had fled from the persecutions of the Duke of Alva and settled at Cleve. So there was mingled in his veins the best blood of four nations, Swiss, French, Dutch and German, and all consecrated by piety.

He was reared by his grandfather until he was eight years old. It was the influence of this pious old man who prepared the boy's mind to be the future Pietist. For Zeller had been converted by Lodenstein, who had been kept as a hostage by the French at Cleve in 1672. There Zeller, who happened to be pastor at Rees, near Cleve, heard him preach, and was converted. He was a man of deep spirituality, and impressed it on his grandson. He was the author of the Lippe Church Order, which is still in use. He was greatly honored by the Count of Lippe, and when not able to walk to the church because of gout, the Count had him carried to the church in a chair by soldiers, where, sitting on a chair before the communion table, he preached. Theleman is careful to say that Zeller called it in the Lippe Church Order, "a communion table," and not an altar. For the Reformed have no altars in their churches.*

Born of such ancestry, reared under such pious influence, Lampe was prepared for the life work. His grand-

* Theleman Life of Lampe, page 6.



PROFESSOR FREDERICK ADOLPH LAMPE.

father and father having both died, he was taken to Bremen by an uncle, Wiechelhausen, who educated him. There he attended the Latin school. He made such progress that he wrote a Latin dissertation on "The Cymbals of the Ancients," which was much admired by his professors. Of his own accord he chose the ministry when fifteen years of age. He entered the university there, where he heard among others professor Cornelius DeHase, a pupil of Untereyck's. When nineteen, he, like many German students of that day, went to Holland to complete his education. He attended the university of Franeker, which was famous not only for its Cocceian theology, but also for its methods of teaching.* Its professors, too, came into close personal contact with the students. Vitringa, Von der Wayen and Roell did not teach any dry scholastic theology, but a living Pietism. While studying there, Lampe was converted and wrote a hymn entitled "Lob des Herrn Jesus" (Praise of the Lord Jesus) in thirty-six strophes, in which he describes his lost condition and his conversion. He took as his motto, "My love is crucified." He had come to Franeker learned in the sciences and theology, yet full of spiritual darkness. Now he confessed, "I desire only grace, nothing but grace." At Franeker he became a strong adherent of Cocceius, whom he called the "great Apollos."

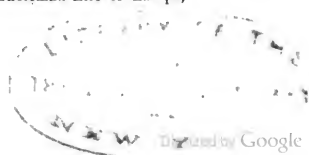
* Instead of lectures it used the Socratic method, and students were challenged to ask questions.

Yet he was not a slavish follower of Cocceius, but developed out of his theology a school of his own. For the Cocceians had divided into two wings, the pure or green Cocceians of Leyden, and the earnest or active of Utrecht and Franeker. The former had emphasized the critical study of the Scriptures so far that they degenerated into mere hair splitting critics of the Bible. The latter, however, never allowed criticism to make them forget the practical side of Christianity. Lampe it was who became the leader of a new school of theology. Starting from the principles of the earnest Cocceians, he aimed to combine Cocceianism with practical activity. Thus at Franeker he learned both Pietism and Cocceianism, and they developed together in him. It was only a year that he spent at Franeker, but it was a momentous year to him and to the Reformed Church, for it was the crisis of his life and settled his future. In 1703 he took a small congregation at Weeze, near Cleve. In this region his grandfather, Zeller, had preached before him and his great-grandson, Menken preached after him. The congregation was small, but earnest. They had come out from among the Romanists around them and were very zealous in the study of the Bible, and in practical activity. But after three years had passed away, the large Reformed congregation at Duisburg called him. Here he found a very different kind of a congregation. Duisburg was the seat of a Reformed university. Owing to Copper's indiscretions

there, and the separations from the Church that had taken place, there was a prejudice against Pietism there. But Lampe saw that the great congregation must be awakened to greater spirituality and activity, and that those who had gone into Separatism must be won back to the Church. So following the old Reformed custom, he made a house to house visitation of the congregation, although some of the worldly-minded in the congregation objected to this.* Lampe also made his sermons very pointed and practical. In them he always distinguished between the converted and the unconverted—a custom continued in this century by the ministers of Germany.† But after preaching at Duisburg for three years, he was called to Bremen as pastor of the St. Stephen's church, of which he became the senior pastor in 1719. He had so endeared himself to his congregation at Duisburg that they parted from him with great regret. At Bremen he was the same earnest pastor and preacher. Untereyck had sowed the seed and Lampe reaped the results. He found the city a worldly city, and would often look back with regret to the higher spiritual atmosphere of Duisburg and the Northern Rhine. He began to hold prayer meetings, so as to promote spirituality. But he did not limit his Pietism to prayer meetings. He showed it by the directness of his preaching

* The records of the consistory from 1705-8 reveal cases of Church discipline brought about by this church visitation. See Theleman Life of Lampe, page 17.

† Koch History of Hymns, Vol. VI., page 38.



and by his Church discipline. For he endeavored to have the Bremen church introduce stricter Church discipline, such as the Reformed had along the Northern Rhine. But he was unsuccessful in this, for there the church was free, while at Bremen it was under the control of the city authorities. He felt his difficulties to be great. He thus writes about them: "He that will not spend his time in dancing and in idle ways, in their eyes, is a Pietist, a bigot. He that has a narrow conscience and can do nothing but reveal difficulties, is a visionary, a Quaker, a singular person, a melancholy freak. He is a misanthrope, and if he does not wish to live for the world, is a fool." Truly at Bremen he was a lamp (Lampe)—a lamp shining in a dark place. He published, in 1713, a book entitled "The Great Privileges of the Unhappy Apostle, Judas Iscariot—A Warning to Unprofitable Teachers." It was written under an assumed name, "Photius"—the Greek translation of Lampe. It was written on the one hand as a warning to the unfaithful teachers within the Church, and on the other was a warning to those who separated from the Church. While with Koch (who claimed that orthodoxy *a la mode* had been the ruin of the Reformed Church), he held that the members should withdraw from unconverted ministers, yet he held that was not necessary, for there were plenty of earnest Evangelical ministers, such as Baxter in England, Lodenstein in Holland, and Untereyck in Germany and others

whose ministrations they could attend. It became, however, evident from this book that Lampe was somewhat in danger of inclining toward the views of the Separatists. But just then an event occurred which turned him fully back toward the Church. For it happened that Detry, pastor of St. Martin's church, who had been a student at Duisburg when Lampe was pastor there, and had been his close friend, preached a sermon, October 3, 1713, on Luke 19: 45 and 46 (Christ driving the money changers out of the temple). He declaimed against the carnal teachers of the Reformed Church who had changed the Church into a den of thieves in many places. In this sermon Detry appealed to Lampe's book to prove his position. The sermon caused great excitement in Bremen, and a few days later the ministerium called Detry before them to answer for it. After various negotiations, in which Lampe was active, Detry consented to publicly recall on Christmas day what he had said, but he finally refused to do this, and so the city council suspended him. The matter soon quieted down, and Detry again ministered to his church. But soon a new conflict arose, directed against Lampe. Romeling, a Lutheran Separatist, who had all along greatly influenced Detry, attacked Lampe in 1714. Lampe found himself compelled to defend himself in a book against him. Detry, who had had trouble with the senior pastor of his church, also attacked Lampe (1717), because he had taken his ground against Romeling. This strife of

Lampe against Detry and Romeling led him to define himself against all Separatism. He declared that he was as decidedly against Separatism as he was in favor of Pietism within the Church. This strife being over, there came to him a season of quiet, which he utilized for study. In 1712 he published the first volume of his theological work, "The Mystery of the Covenant of Grace." He finally completed the work in 1721. In 1718 he published the first Reformed Church paper. He was aided in it by Theodore DeHase, professor of theology in the university. Its title was "Bibliotheca-Historico-Philologico-Theologica" (the Historical-Philological-Theological Library). In it he hoped to gather material for the future history of the Reformed Church, but Biblical essays, reviews of books, especially Reformed works, and Church news were also made prominent. It was published in Latin, as that was the literary language of Europe. No polemics were permitted in it. It appeared in parts, each part being dedicated to some celebrated Reformed theologian, as Mieg, Vitringa, Jablonski and Hottinger. Among its contributors were Turretin, Roell, Mosheim, Haumann (for pious Lutherans were gladly welcomed to its pages), and jurists like Deusing and Neubour. This paper he continued to publish as long as he remained in Bremen.

His works gave him a reputation as a theologian, while his success at preaching, catechization and pastoral work, and the eloquence of his sermons gave him a repu-

tation as a preacher and pastor. He therefore received several calls as to a professorship of theology at the university of Frankford on the Oder. In 1720 he accepted the call to be professor at the Dutch university of Utrecht. His congregation parted from him with great regret, but his professorship gave him a wide influence among the ministers of the Church. Indeed his call to that university marked an epoch in the Dutch Church. It marked the victory of the Cocceians over the Voetians, of Biblical theology over the scholasticism, of Christian life over Christian doctrine. It also marked another event, namely, the victory of the earnest Cocceians over the green or scholastic Cocceians. For from that day it became customary in the Dutch universities to have three professors of theology : (1) A Voetian or scholastic ; (2) a Cocceian or exegete ; (3) a Lampean or practical theologian. He exerted a great influence over his students as a teacher of dogmatics. He made dogmatics and church history practical sciences, and by the earnestness of his piety and the warm sympathy of his heart exerted much the same influence over them that Lodenstein had done many years before. He was made rector of the university in 1726, which post he held till he left Utrecht.

In 1727 he received a call to come back to Bremen and be pastor of the St. Ansgari church, and also professor of theology in the university. He accepted this call, partly because of his great love for Bremen, and partly because

his health had been shattered by the damp climate of Holland. Now if Pietism had been outlawed by the Reformed Church, Lampe never would have been called to Utrecht as professor in one of the largest Reformed universities, nor would he have been called back to Bremen to be its professor there. On the contrary, he was called to both of these prominent positions. And when he returned to Bremen he was received with the highest honors. Instead of being looked down upon for being a Pietist, or put out of the Reformed Church for holding conventicles, he was elected to one of the highest positions with which the Church could honor him. The ministerium which had once opposed Untereyck, now united in honoring him in every way. Thus they did not place his name last in the list of ministers, as they always did when a new minister came to one of their churches, but they entered his name on the roll where it had been, when he had been pastor before. And instead of compelling him to preach a trial sermon in the Liebfrau church, as was their custom, they dispensed with this in his case. To have so prominent a Dutch professor of theology come back to Germany, was an honor to Germany which seldom occurred. He delivered his introductory address in September. He was very gladly received by his congregation. His great influence now enabled him to do what Untereyck failed to do many years before, namely, to get the Reformed of Bremen to

give up the payment of the confessional money (Beichtpfennig). This change had already been made by Untereyck in the St. Martin's church. Lampe now succeeded in having this custom dispensed with in all the churches of Bremen. Instead of this, a special fund was created, to which each member contributed a yearly free-will offering, out of which the ministers were paid.* Lampe also labored with great joy and success in the university. He had congenial associates in the faculty, as Theodore DeHase and Shumacher. His reputation extended far beyond Germany, and he attracted many students to Bremen.

But Bremen was not to have the privilege of his instructions long—only two years. A severe sickness at Utrecht had already brought him to the borders of the grave. His health, however, improved after he came to Bremen, so that his death, when it came, was quite sudden. After closing his lecture to the students at 4 P. M., and making a pastoral call, he was taken with a hemorrhage. But he was ready for death, for to a friend who called to see him he said: "Blessed is the man whom the Lord when He cometh will find watching." After another hemorrhage he died, December 8, 1729, aged 47 years. Only a few hours before his death he had finished the manuscript of his "Eleven Meditations on Death." The memorial sermon was preached by Drage, who compared him with

* But although the city churches put away this confessional money, the country churches of Bremen still continued the old custom.

Enoch in his walk with God, "And he was not, for God took him." Lampe's motto, "My love is crucified," found its completion as his crucifixion on earth changed to his coronation in heaven.

Thus died the leader of the German Reformed Church in the eighteenth century. In many ways he was a remarkable man—a many-sided, yet finely balanced, man. He was great as a preacher. His sermons were plain, practical, pungent, yet full of suggestive thought and spiritual unction. He always kept two classes of hearers before his mind, both in preparing and in preaching, the believing and the unbelieving.* At the close of his sermons his practical mind led him to divide the congregation into distinct classes, the ignorant, the impenitent, the formal, the convinced Christian and the converted Christian. He would address himself to each class separately.† This was imitated by his followers, so that it became quite customary along the northern Rhine for those who belonged to the last class (the converted) to rise in their seats when addressed. And for a century after in many of the congregations of the northern Rhine "the so-called touched, awakened or converted, and those who desired to be considered as such, stood up when the sermon was applied to

* He said in his introductory sermon at Bremen, 1727, "I will endeavor to make an exact distinction between fleshly and spiritual professors, between Jacob and Esau, between weak and strong."

† Goebel History of Rhenish Westphalian Church, Vol. II., page 415.

their class, a custom, says Goebel,* whose trace I myself still met with in the Berg congregations (1852), and which was revived by the Methodists with new power." This then was a Reformed custom acknowledged in many churches more than a half century before Methodism ever saw the light, and in a district the most tenaciously Reformed to-day in Germany. Why then should the Reformed of our day object to modern evangelistic services as un-Reformed and Methodistical? These things were customary in the Reformed Church before ever Methodism was known. They grew out of the spirit born in her and became a part of her Church life. The fact is, if the Reformed Church is to have a future, she must become more evangelistic and less formal.

Lampe's pastoral work was, like his preaching, faithful and effective. In season and out of season he visited his people. He gained their hearts, and they loved him very much. He watched over them as individuals. We give a beautiful illustration of his rare tact. A fisherman in his St. Stephen's parish at Bremen, over sixty years old, lay sick unto death. Lampe hearing that he had neglected the means of grace and was ignorant of salvation, hastened with tears in his eyes to visit him. When the fisherman heard that a minister had come to see him, he became very much afraid and expected a severe scolding. But Lampe, instead of finding fault with him, with

* Of Rhenish Westphalian Church, Vol. II., page 415, note.

the wisdom of a wise pastor brought comfort to him. And by a simple question the sick man was soon brought to a confession of his sinful life and showed a longing for salvation. Lampe then gladly explained to the man the way of life. He did this in most simple language and with great tact. He reminded the fisher of the anchor, and how, "when he was in his boat, his hope was grounded on his anchor. Now such an anchor was Christ Jesus. Although through his sins he was in danger of eternal shipwreck, yet Jesus was the anchor, and he must lay hold of Him by faith." As Lampe left him, the man said with tears in his eyes, "I see that I must be lost eternally, but I will lay hold of Jesus as my anchor, although the number of my sins would drag me down to hell and sink the ship of my soul." The sick man, as he woke out of sleep the next morning, cried, "My ship wants to sink, but I hold my anchor fast." Lampe visited him daily, and he died rejoicing in hope.

Lampe also excelled as a catechist. He knew how to question his pupils. His practical methods of stating doctrine was a great aid to him in catechization. He says he believed that far more was done through catechization than by preaching. And he declared that he gave more time to catechization than to preaching. He invited the catechumens to his house, where he would divide them off according to their age and ability, and then adapt the truth to them. His example reveals the one thing lack-

ing in some modern pastors, a want of faithfulness in catechization. Catechization to him was not a merely formal memorizing of the catechism. It was a matter of the heart as well as of the head, and led to conversion from sin and sanctification through grace.

Lampe was also great as an author. We have already referred to his church paper. He was also the author of a number of works. His *Milk of Truth* (1720), was a very remarkable book. It was an elaboration of the Heidelberg Catechism (the first two questions of that catechism are the basis of not less than fifty questions). This book was not only praised by the General Synod of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark, but that Synod went so far as to have it printed at its own expense. The book came into such common use along the Northern Rhine, that in many places it forced the Heidelberg Catechism out of use. It was still used in some of those districts up to the middle of this century.* In 1719 Lampe's communion book appeared, entitled, "The Holy Ornament of the Wedding Guests of the Lamb at the Table of the Covenant." Here in seventeen chapters he treats of the necessity of the proper use of the communion, the duty before and after communion, the chief qualification, namely faith. To him the Lord's Supper was, according to his

* The *Milk of Truth* also had an appendix to it of 150 questions, in which on 15 pages the main doctrines as God, sin, redemption, faith, the new birth, sanctification, baptism and the Lord's Supper, are all treated. The *Milk of Truth* was translated into English by a Dutch pastor in New Jersey in the last century.

Federal views, a seal of the covenant, and the use of the communion was the meal of the covenant. In 1713, when the plague visited Bremen, he published his tract, "Balsam out of Gilead against Contagious Diseases." In exegetical works he occupied a front rank. His commentary on John's gospel is excellent, and of value even down to our day.

Lampe was also great as a theologian. It is wonderful that so busy a man could find time to make so much theological research. He gathered a great library which was sold for a large sum after his death. His greatest work was his "Mystery of the Covenant of Grace." It was contained in six volumes of eight hundred pages.* He founded his book on the Federal theology imbued with the spirit of Pietism. He was a Predestinarian, but a practical one, for he viewed it from a practical standpoint, and it did not become a formative principle in his theology, as it did in the supralapsarian view. The covenant rather than the decrees was the centre of his theology. In the doctrine of the Lord's Supper he was Calvinistic. On the Millennium he occupied a mediating position. The

* In the introduction he discusses the distinction between the covenant of works and the covenant of grace. In Section I. he considers the nature of the covenant of grace: (a) The parties of the covenant (God in three persons and the fallen sinner); (b) the reasons for the covenant (the decrees and the satisfaction of the Son of God); (c) the contents of the covenant (effectual calling, faith, regeneration, justification, sanctification, sealing, glorification); (d) the real establishment of the covenant). In Section II. the development of the kingdom of God, the season of promise, the economy of the law, the dispensation of the gospel (the life of Christ and the sacraments).

orthodox looked on millennarianism as an heretical doctrine of the sects. Lampe held with Roell, Spener and the Puritans of England, that the millennium was imminent, and that Christ's kingdom would be set up on earth, at which time Rome would fall. His doctrine of the Sabbath was like that of Cocceius. He puts the command of the Sabbath in the ceremonial law, and shows that the apostles had given up the old Sabbath by changing it from the seventh day to the first day of the week. But he also held that the Sabbath was a necessity to man, and that there should be a day appointed for public worship. But the Christian should keep Sunday not as a mere ceremonial act, but out of an inner desire to get the rest that God had at the beginning.* He founded the Federal school of

* Lampe was suspected of Roellianism, since he explained John 5: 26, ("For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself,") referring it not to the eternal generation of the Son from the Father (as also John 15: 26, not to the eternal procession of the Spirit from the father), hence not to the essential trinity, but only to the revealed trinity, and even not to his incarnation, but to the last stage of his earthly life—to the resurrection of Christ. So that the giving of life here only meant the glorious state in which the Son of God is placed when he appeared as the conqueror of death after he has finished his sacrifice, and has received not only the power of eternal life, but also that glory which was due to the perfect Savior. His exegesis of this passage agreed so little with the usual opinion of the doctrine of the trinity, and was so like Roell, his teacher, that the quarrel between the Cocceians had hardly subsided, before it was again stirred up, and Lampe was suspected by some of semi-pelagianism or tritheism. There is a story told that at one of the Synods a motion was made condemning Lampe. One of the oldest ministers stood up and said, "Whether Lampe is heterodox or not, I know not, but this I know, he is the most pious man among all of us." This remark stopped any further desire to condemn him. Lampe however did not depart from the old faith.

theology in the spirit of Pietism, and it became, says Koch,* "the ruling school of the German Reformed Church in opposition to the mysticism of Tersteegen on the one hand and of rationalism on the other."

He was also great as a poet. He was one of the three great poets of the German Reformed Church, Neander and Tersteegen being the other two. He wrote forty-three hymns and a number of poems, as the poem of his conversion mentioned above, "Praise of the Lord Jesus." Some of them appeared in his "Mystery of the Covenant of Grace" and in his tract, "Balsam out of Gilead." Later, in 1773, he issued them under the title, "A Little Bunch of Spiritual Songs." Of his hymns the most famous are, "Mein Leben ist ein Pilgerstand,"† "O wer gibt mir Adlers Flügel," "O Liebesgluth, wie soll ich dich," "O Fels des Heils am Kreuzesstamm," and the Easter hymn, "Mein Fels hat überwunden." It was only in times of leisure that he allowed the muses to gain control over him. Especially when he travelled did he write his hymn, "Mein Leben ist ein Pilgerstand," or when he was at the baths, where he often had to go for his health, did he write "Schmachtende Brunnenseufzer." Lange says of his hymns, "A true burning glow of feeling and a sublime flight of fancy are to be noted in him. He is familiar with the mystery of the inner life, as well as of objective

* History of German hymns, Vol. VI., page 41.

† For translation see appendix.

truth. The superabundance of his theological types, the peculiarities of many expressions, as well as the insipidity of many forms of words, often obscure his hymns. And then their real contents break through these shadows with shining clearness and lofty grandeur." Ebrard says, "No grander or more splendid hymn was ever sung than 'O wer gibt mir Adler's Flügel?' The happy trust of his rock-bound faith shows itself as strongly in these hymns as in Gerhard's, but is seasoned with more salt of earnestness. One notices the rest of his faith which he reached after a battle." Lampe goes down to the depths of our inner experience in "O wer gibt mir Adler's Flügel?" (Who will give me eagle's wings?) to which one finds in Gerhard no parallel.

Lampe therefore was a very remarkable man. In a wonderful way he combined depth of thought with sympathy of heart, logical acumen with practical insight. The theme of his life was grace, and gracious he was by nature even to those who opposed him. He was always kind. He knew nothing of jealousy. His great service was in putting new life in the Cocceian theology and baptizing it with the practical spirit. The love of Christ continually constrained him. "Of Christ he spoke, of Christ he sang, for Christ he lived, in Christ he died." His life was a Pilgrim's Progress, like his hymn ("My Life is a Pilgrim State"), which was the Pilgrim's Progress of poetry. The coat of arms of his family was a burning lamp.

He was truly a lamp (Lampe.) He was like Ecolampadius (whose name also meant lamp). He was like John the Baptist, "a burning and a shining light," to light many to God. Lampe's epitaph, written by his brother-in-law, Noltenius, the court preacher of Berlin, reads as follows :

"See a light is buried yonder,
 Burning once with holy flame,
 Dedicated all his talents
 To the service of God's name,
 But this grave cannot conceal him,
 Lampe's writings are the sign !
 That as long as stars will sparkle
 He shall live in memory's shrine ;
 Bremen, canst thou not forever
 Glory in this shining light ?
 Pray to God that He may grant us
 Many lamps as pure and bright."

(Translated by Wm. Hinke.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE EFFECTS OF THE RISE OF PIETISM.

The results of this development of Pietism were very important and far-reaching. Its influence has been so great that it has even been named a new reformation. The first reformation emphasized the doctrines, although it did not forget the life. This second reformation completed it by emphasizing the outward life, as well as the doctrine. And where the first may have failed to do its work perfectly, this came in to complete it, so that doctrine and life, the subjective thought and the objective conduct, might harmonize together in revealing true Christian character to the world. What Lasco, Ursinus and Olevianus were in the first reformation to the German Reformed Church, that Untereyck, Neander and Lampe were to the second.

The effects of Pietism showed themselves in many ways. Pietism both revived the old forms, and also led to the introduction of new ones. It was both conservative and also progressive. Into the old forms, some of which had become lifeless through age, it put new spirit and life, such as they had not had since they were first introduced in the early reformation. And at the same time it introduced some new forms and customs, and thus enabled the

Reformed Church to adjust herself to the times and move on with the progress of the age. We will first mention the old forms, into which Pietism put new life, and then of the new customs it introduced. One of its greatest results was the revival of *catechization*. After the first freshness of the reformation revival had passed away, these catechetical services had often degenerated, either into dry statements of doctrine, or else had become the arena for polemics. Even when they pleased the intellect, they often failed to reach the heart of the catechumens or to produce much effect on their life. The result was that the afternoon catechetical services on Sunday were no longer well attended. Pietism came and took this old custom, revived it and made it more effective. In doing so it changed the mode of catechization to some extent :

a) The old custom was to have a catechetical sermon on Sunday afternoons. But in addition to this, Pietism introduced a catechization on week-days. *b)* The old custom was to have catechization in the church, where a sermon was preached on some answer in the catechism. This was ordered by the Palatinate liturgy and the Synod of Dort. But Pietism had its catechetization also in the private houses and in the homes of the congregation. And instead of a formal sermon, in which the minister alone took part, it used the Socratic method of questioning the catechumens. At the church they had catechization at long range, but now at the homes the truth was

brought home directly to the hearts and consciences of the catechumens, and in a more social way the Biblical truths were impressed on their minds. c) Pietism changed to some extent the emphasis of catechization. Before this the catechetical services had come to be intended mainly for the congregation in general. Now it was intended mainly for the young and for those not Church members. From being doctrinal and devotional merely, they now became evangelistic. Under the old system there had been little emphasis laid on the training of the young. Pietism saw its opportunity (for earnest Christianity always finds opportunities and improves them) and cared for the young. The Pietists used conventicles, for they saw these would best reach individual souls. It may be a surprise to some of those who in our day are so closely wedded to our weekly catechetical lectures, to know that there was a very considerable opposition to this new method of catechization when it was introduced. Untereyck created a great sensation at Bremen when he introduced them. The merely formal Christians said, "What, is not a sermon in church on Sunday morning enough? Why should more services be needed on week-days?" But these catechetical meetings led to such good results that they overcame opposition. The General Synod of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark wisely decided that the best way to offset the tendency of some to separate from the Church, was to hold earnest devotional meetings in

the church, and in 1683 urged catechization and weekly meetings as the best means of counteracting Separatism. In 1716 the Elberfeld Classis ordered week-day catechization, as well as Sunday afternoon catechization. The Classis of Julich in 1769 declared that "the wise teaching of the catechism to children produced more results than a hundred addresses to ignorant parents." The Meurs Classis ordered private catechization in private houses in 1671, and the Cleve Synod in 1697. Finally the General Synod of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark in 1775 changed the Sunday afternoon catechization into a catechization on week-days.*

It has been charged by opponents of Pietism and revivals† that Pietism destroys the honored custom of catechization so dear to every member of the Reformed Church. The answer (and it is the answer of history) is *that there never would have been catechetical lectures as we have them to-day, had there not been a revival.* It was a revival in the Church that developed these *weekly* catechizations and made them mainly for the young. Now, if Pietism and revivals produce catechization, how then can they destroy it? No; catechization and revivals go together. They were born together. They should exist together. The course of catechetical lectures in our

* See Goebel History of the Rhenish Westphalian Church, Vol. III., p. 49.

† By revivals we do not mean noisy, excited meetings, but quiet, solemn services where Christians are led to higher consecration and sinners are converted. Noise never makes a revival, only God's Spirit can.

churches, what should it be, but a continuous revival where souls are converted and brought into living union with Christ? The lectures should be so adapted as to produce conversion and religious experience. The doctrines of the catechism should be so explained as to lead the catechumen to Christ as a personal Savior, and to lead him to a consistent Christian life. The best preparation for a course of catechetical lectures is a series of special services. The interest these produce often leads the undecided to join the class. And those who had been converted at such meetings will be far better able to understand the spiritual truths of the catechism after conversion, because their minds have already learned to discern spiritual things. The two, catechism and Pietism, are twin servants of the Reformed Church; let us never divorce them. If we lose sight of either, the Church will suffer. If she forgets catechization, she will degenerate into mere emotionalism; if she forgets Pietism, she will fall into mere formalism. Only by a judicious use of both will she remain true to her past history and ready to make future history for herself.

A second effect of this development of Pietism was on the *cultus* or *worship* of the Church. Here again it put new life into old forms where the old life had largely departed. The services of the church, instead of languishing, as they had done before, became full of interest, and the church attendance largely increased. The ordinances

of God's house, the sacraments and the preaching of the Word, were more greatly enjoyed, and as a result, more highly honored. Thus Pietism led to an emphasis on *free prayer*. This had been an old custom in the Reformed Church. The oldest Reformed Synod in Germany at Wesel in 1568, presided over by Dathenus, court preacher of Elector Frederick III. of the Palatinate, had ordered the use of free prayer in the church services. Now Pietism came to emphasize it again. As a result, the old liturgical formulas were given up in the Northern Rhine, especially in the county of Berg.* Heppe says, "The written prayers of the liturgy came to be forgotten."† Goebel says, "The old formulas were put away everywhere in Berg, and no new ones introduced, so that there is no liturgy, but freedom prevails." The texts were also free, and not taken from the gospels and epistles of the day.‡

Another important custom that was emphasized was *confirmation*. The rite of confirmation had been by no means common in the Reformed Church in the Reformation. For the rite had been performed by bishops in the Romish Church, and when bishops were given up at the Reformation by the Protestants, this custom fell into

* Abundant proof of this is given by Goebel, *History of Rhenish Westphalian Church*, Vol. III., page 62, Vol. II., page 77; and by Heppe, *History of Evangelical Church of Julich, Cleve. Berg and Mark*, pages 232, 240 and 245.

† *History of Evangelical Church of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark*, page 244.

‡ Goebel, *History of the Rhenish Westphalian Church*, Vol. II., page 535.

disuse. It was re-introduced into the Lutheran Church by Spener in the seventeenth century. The Reformed Church at first received young people into membership by profession of faith as found in the catechism.* The word confirmation was used of the ordination of the minister sometimes, not of the members. Their reception into the church was a "firmung," or a rite without laying on of hands. Only occasionally did it appear as in the Hanau church order (1659). The rite of confirmation was urged by individuals and prominent Reformed ministers as Peter Martyr, Piscator, Spanheim, Maresius and others, yet it was not generally in use. It remained for the Pietists to bring it in general use. It was introduced as we see by their church orders† into Lippe, in 1684; Bremen, 1686; Palatinate, 1724; Wittgenstein, 1746. The General Synod of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark ordered a general introduction of it as late as 1784. And when introduced, the Reformed did not consider it as having any magical power in it. The touch of the minister's hands did not sanctify, only the Holy Spirit's touch. Neither was it looked on so much as a confirmation of baptism (which was the view Spener put into it), as preparation for the public confession of faith by the catechumens—that is, it was not sacramentarian, but personal.

* Bachman History of the Introduction of Confirmation, pages 74-76 and 186-7.

† Bachman History of the Introduction of Confirmation, pages 147, 162, 167.

It meant that those who joined church not only made a private confession of faith before the Presbyterium, but also in this confirmation made a public profession of faith before the whole congregation. The Classis of Berg distinctly stated that no one should be confirmed who did not of his own free will accept Christ and desire to profess Him. All forced confirmation or mere mechanical confirmation was foreign to the spirit of the Reformed Church, which always emphasized experience. When the Lutherans of Hanover forced a compulsory confirmation on the Reformed of East Friesland, the Reformed complained very bitterly. There are some who look on confirmation as an act of High Churchism. The reply is that since revivals and High Churchism do not go together, confirmation in the Reformed Church could not be a High Church custom, for it came as the result of a revival. The Reformed idea of it has nothing sacramentarian in it. The Savior never commanded it, as he did baptism and the Lord's Supper. It was the apostles' rather than Christ's custom. Confirmation means nothing more than a public profession of faith before the congregation, the acceptance by the congregation of that confirmation and the admission of the confirmed to the Lord's Supper. It was merely the revival of the old custom of the apostles', mentioned in the Acts. If they were not wrong in doing it, we are not. The peculiar impressiveness of the rite makes it very suitable for use in our churches.

But Pietism not only revived old customs and put new life into them ; it also introduced new ones. Perhaps the most startling change was the *introduction of hymns*. The Reformed Church of Germany had been, like the other Calvinistic Churches, a Psalm-singing Church for about a century. Since the days of Zwick and the Strasburg hymn-writers in the time of Bucer (with the exception of Electress Louisa Henrietta), they had produced no hymns. Dathenus had introduced the singing of Psalms (Old Testament hymns). And Lobwasser's metrical translation of the Psalms, set to Goudimais melodies, were everywhere introduced, so that, except in three or four parts of Germany, where a hymn would be sung only at communion times, no hymns were used.* The exceptions to this rule of Psalm-singing among the Reformed were : 1) In the county of Mark, where Lutheranism was predominant, and Lutheran hymns were sometimes used by the Reformed ; 2) In Brandenburg, Electress Louisa Henrietta of Brandenburg had a hymn book issued in 1653, in which, besides Psalms, some of Luther's hymns, as well as her own, were published and used ; 3) In Bremen it was customary to sing a hymn at communion ; 4) In the Palatinate, where, although Elector Frederick III. had banished hymns, they were re-introduced by the Lutheran Elector Lewis, so that the church still used a hymn at communion services. But with these few exceptions, Psalm-singing

* Koch, *History of Hymns*, Vol. IV., page 172 ff, Vol. VI., page 1.

was universal. Now if it had not been for this revival of Pietism, who knows but we might still be singing Psalms in the Reformed Church? We therefore have Pietism to thank for our hymns. For Neander brought about a new era. The issue of his *Hymns of the Covenant* in 1679 began a new day for the Reformed. Strange as it may appear to us, the introduction of hymns was bitterly opposed in many parts of the Reformed Church as an innovation, as the old Reformed people had become greatly wedded to the Psalms. They held that God's Word (the Psalms), and not man's words (the hymns), should be sung in God's worship. And in their Psalms they aimed at the literal rather than a rhythmical translation, so that God's Word might be changed as little as possible. The introduction of hymns and spiritual songs, like Neander's, produced, therefore, a great sensation among them—as great an excitement as Lowell Mason's melodies did in the early part of this century, or the Moody and Sankey hymns did in the latter part of this century. For many years Neander's hymns were not permitted to be sung in the churches. They were, however, used at private meetings, at conventicles and prayer meetings. But by and by they became so popular that they won their way into the churches, for the Church could no longer afford to pass them by. So after well nigh a century and a half of psalm singing, the General Synod of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark issued a new hymn book in 1738, which added

150 hymns to the 150 psalms previously in use. A second appendix was added (1773), which contained 224 more hymns. Although the Berg Synod questioned the orthodoxy of the new hymn book, it came into general use in the Synod, and also in the county of Bentheim, which was not included in that General Synod.* Gradually the hymns have replaced the psalms. In the Mark the old Reformed hymn book containing the psalms is used in only a few congregations, although in Julich and Berg it is more common. So we have to thank Pietism for our hymns. As music is the life of the Church and hymns the keynote of her progress, we can see how far-reaching this result of Pietism was. And we can thank the Pietists for giving us not only hymns, but the very best of hymns, which have won the German heart, and are, many of them, dear to us in their English translation.

Another result of Pietism was *to prepare the way for Christian missions*. "Pietism has been the father of missions," says Iken. This is proved by the fact that the Lutheran school of Pietists at Halle sent missionaries to India and Greenland. They also sent Muhlenberg as the first Lutheran Home missionary to America. (Formal Churches do not care enough for the salvation of the world to send out foreign missionaries. Pietism gave the impulse.) We find in the Reformed Church, too, Pietism

* At present Jorissen's psalms are used at Elberfeld, instead of Lobwasser's.

gave the impulse to missions. The first Pietistic preachers of Holland, Thelinck and Lodenstein, made the salvation of the heathen a matter of conscience. Holland sent out missionaries to the Dutch East Indies in the seventeenth century, who made 424,000 converts in Ceylon, and 100,000 in Java, and 30,000 in Amboyna. It is true the work was superficially done, owing to the connection of the Church with the State, and also to their inexperience in managing missionary work, yet for the impulse that led to this work, Pietism should have the credit. Lampe also in his introductory sermon at Utrecht says, "What a beautiful door has the Lord opened to our Netherlands to carry the gospel through their wide spreading commerce from the going down of the sun to its rising, to both Indies and the farther ends of the earth. We ought to show our thankfulness to him for the light of grace we have received by carefully endeavoring to bring the candlestick which was brought to us from the Orient there again. We seem to be as busy with our wicked example in hindering the conversion of the heathen, as the early Christians were busy in furthering it by their good example and burning zeal." Mel was also an ardent friend of Missions. In 1700, at the marriage of the Crown Prince Frederick of Hesse, he published a pamphlet in favor of Foreign Missions. He also sought to interest those who had means and influence in the work. The next year he laid before King Frederick of Prussia and

the Prussian Academy of Science a plan for the conversion of the heathen, which was a most wonderfully complete compendium, and revealed his broad, far-seeing mind. At the same time he had a correspondence with the English missionary, Dr. Bicker, who gave him two letters from Syria and Arabia, which he had published as the first Evangelical Missionary Leaves. He also preached earnestly on the subject of missions from the pulpit. As a recognition of his zeal for missions, he was elected in 1706 a member of the English "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts"—the oldest Foreign Missionary Society of England. In return for this honor, Mel, when he published in 1711 his work on missions, put these letters as an appendix, and dedicated them to that English Missionary Society and to its president, the Bishop of Oxford. The Pietists in the Reformed Church sent their money for Foreign Missions through the Halle Missionary Society. But in 1799 a missionary society was founded at Elberfeld, the fruits of Pietism there. Pietism also showed its love for missions in the home field as well as in the foreign. The zealous house to house visitation of the Pietists has well been said to be the forerunner of Dr. Wichern's Innere Mission movement in Germany. For us in America there is an interesting fact to be noticed, namely, that the band of six young men, who at the urgent request of Rev. Mr. Schlatter, came to this country in 1752, and who became

some of the earliest ministers of our Church, were from the University of Herborn, which was full of Pietism. Professors Schramm and Arnoldi there were Cocceians in theology and Pietists in church work, and urged the young men to go to distant America. Thus, just as the Lutheran school of Pietists at Halle sent out Muhlenberg to America to found the Lutheran Church, so the Pietistic University of Herborn sent out its students to aid in founding the Reformed Church here, and plant in her the seed of earnest piety and aggressive church work.

We have thus traced Pietism from its beginning in the days of Zwingli, Calvin and Lasco through its development to its triumph in the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is very evident that the Reformed Church did not cast off Pietism as being un-Reformed. On the contrary, she accepted it and developed it. When her highest officers, as presidents of the Coetus at Emden, like Buchwalder and Alardin, when leading professors of theology, like Lampe and Hottinger, when leading Reformed Princes, as the Elector of Brandenburg, and leading Synods, like the General Synod of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark, endorsed it, it is very evident that Pietism was not contrary to the spirit of the Reformed Church. It was not something foreign to the Reformed Church, but became an integral part of her life, her history and genius. Pietism continued to develop, until it gained

control of all the universities save one. Ebrard says :*
“ By 1740 Pietism was ruling everywhere, while the rest of the orthodox party flung themselves into the university of Erlangen.” The Reformed Church, which saved Pietism to the Lutheran Church by receiving Spener into Brandenburg, found Pietism a great blessing to herself. It made her broader in her sympathies, and more effective in her activities. It prepared her for the problems of the future about to come before her. Foreign and Home Missions were nursed in her bosom. Her catechization of the children was the germ of the modern Sunday school. Pietism prepared the Church for, and strengthened her in, the terrible struggles with Rationalism. It thus became of incalculable benefit, as well as of distinguished honor, to the Reformed Church. The Reformed ministers of Germany do not speak slightly of Pietism, as do some in our own land. They thank God for the Pietism of the past. And if our Reformed Church would be prepared for future conflicts and conquests, she must do as the Reformed Church did two hundred years ago, she must nourish the spirit of Pietism that is within her. When it begins to assume extravagant forms, instead of persecuting it, she ought to divert it into the right channels and control it. The best antidote for the wildfire, noisy anxious bench is not formalism, but quiet revivalism,

* Church History, Vol. IV., p. 120.

with its solemn meetings and sound doctrines. Says Rev. Dr. J. W. Nevin :* “ Dead churches and dead ministers, that turn catechetical instruction into an empty form, and make no account of inward piety as a necessary qualification for membership in the Church of Christ, have no right most assuredly to identify themselves with the system of the catechism.”—“ To call into question either the reality or the desirableness of a revival, is a monstrous skepticism, that may be said to border on the sin of infidelity itself.” —“ Churches that hate revivals, love death.” Thus, blessed by Pietism sanctified to the service of the Church, the Reformed Church will move on with the age, and gain greater conquests in the future than she has gained in the past.

* *Anxious Bench*, p. 136.

BOOK V.

RATIONALISM.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The next foe the Reformed Church had to meet, after the persecutions of Romanism, was Rationalism. Rationalism is the theory that makes man's reason the proof and judge of all things. Over against this, the orthodox claimed that reason in itself never could solve the problems of the universe or enable the soul to find its way back to God. There have been many different phases of Rationalism, but the Rationalism in Germany may be reduced to three main kinds, intellectual, moral and pantheistic. The first was Rationalism pure and simple, which enthroned the intellect and appeared as Deism in England, Illuminism in France and Rationalism in Germany. When this had run itself out, there arose another theory to destroy it. This enthroned not the intellectual, but the ethical (conscience). Kant dealt Deism a death blow from which it has never recovered. But he did not lead the minds of men back to

God, for he emphasized the conscience so much that it became man's guide instead of revelation. Morality could save a man without the necessity of an atonement. Although it destroyed the old, it brought in a new, Rationalism (of the conscience). But when Kantianism had run itself out to this logical sequence, there arose still another Rationalism. Men reacted against the deism of the previous century, which put God outside the universe. They now went to the other extreme, into Pantheism, which made the universe to be God. Pantheism came to destroy Rationalism, but still it did not bring the people back to God, for it was one-sided, just as the other theories had been. Against the ethical theory of Kant it reacted into the fascinating theory of the divine in nature, as in Schelling. Not man alone has the divine in him in conscience ; all nature has God in it, for nature is God. Thus we see how again and again, in these theories, the human intellect under various phases asserted itself against the Gospel. First it said the intellect could save ; then it said morality could save ; and finally it declared that self was God and needed no salvation (this is the ultimate result of Pantheism.) We are God, and around us everything revolves. This Pantheistic theory is a deification of self and differs from the two previous theories in deifying not a part of man, as the intellect or conscience, but the whole of man centering in self. These were the forms of Rationalism that the Reformed had to meet and conquer.

CHAPTER II.

RATIONALISM IN THE REFORMED CHURCH.

Rationalism began in Germany with Professor Wolf at Halle. Historically, therefore, it was the outgrowth of Lutheranism, for Halle was Lutheran, and Wolf simply formulated Leibnitz's views, although Leibnitz was not a rationalist. Wolf began his philosophy with the idea that he could prove the divine by mathematical demonstration, forgetting that the sphere of the ethical and religious cannot be proved by mathematics. So instead of making the proofs of religion stronger, he weakened them. The professors of Halle complained to the Elector of Brandenburg against Wolf. The Elector, jealous for the cause of true religion, gave an order, November 8, 1723, that Wolf should leave his dominions within forty-eight hours or be hung, and he forbade any of his people from reading his dangerous works under a penalty of a fine of 100 ducats for each offence.* But Wolf only left one

* The Elector was not a philosopher, and once asked in his famous Tobacco Congress, "What is the doctrine of pre-established harmony which is charged against Wolf?" To which the court fool replied, "If your tallest grenadier runs away (the Elector had a hobby—namely, tall soldiers), he cannot be punished, because his running away was a piece of pre-established harmony." The Elector saw that such views would break up his army, which was his pride, and so became very bitter against Wolfianism.

Reformed State for another. For Landgrave Charles of Hesse-Cassel invited him to become professor at Marburg. There he taught for seventeen years, and gradually his views filled the university.

A change, however, took place when King Frederick William I. died, and his son, Frederick II. (or Frederick the Great), came to the throne. The latter had been carefully trained by his father in the Reformed faith, but was brought up under the fear of God, rather than of God's love. His religious training was made a task to him, rather than a delight. His teachers, court preacher Andrea and Duhan (who was a follower of Naude) were high predestinarians. But his father, who held to the views akin to the Saumur school, was bitterly opposed to Supralapsarianism and often took sides against his son, who followed his teachers' views. When Frederick the Great was thrown into prison, the Lutheran chaplain Muller was sent to try and bring him to better ways. Frederick, who was fond of argument, could not help getting into an argument with Muller on predestination. Frederick afterwards acknowledged that he held predestination more as a philosophical doctrine than for any practical benefit to his life. This difference between his father and himself on predestination grew into a greater difference as he grew older. When he was a boy of eight, he wrote in his confession of faith, in which he said: "One must never be untrue to the Reformed religion." Would that

he had not been. As late as 1735 he wrote to the Prince of Orange his high appreciation of the Reformed religion. In 1749 he put Ruiger into Spandau for attacking religion. But alas! he came under the corrupting influence of the Saxon court, where French infidelity, drunkenness and lust reigned, and he was turned into the leader of the rationalists of Germany. Lutheranism gave the philosopher of rationalism in Wolf, and the Reformed gave its King. One of his first acts was to recall Wolf from Marburg. Wolf returned to Halle, and on December 6, 1740, he made a triumphal entry into the town like an old Roman Emperor, where he was made permanent rector, while the King elevated him to be a baron. The victory of rationalism seemed complete. The King set the fashion for it. His genius gave eclat to it. His victories in battle added lustre to it. He crowned his acts by inviting Voltaire to Berlin, in 1750, to popularize free thought. But they could not agree, and within three years Voltaire had run away from Berlin, while all Europe laughed at the frailties and foibles of these two infidel leaders. Berlin thus became the centre of rationalism, from which its baneful influences went out in all directions.

And yet, while Frederick the Great fostered Rationalism, there were noble witnesses for orthodoxy in his very court and capital. While this terrible tide went over Germany like a flood, there were noble Christians who

stood up for the old faith. Among them were some Reformed, who bore witness to the truth even in Cæsar's household. We can mention only a few of the most important. Among his own officers and soldiers there were still witnesses for the truth, like Van Ziethen.

Prince Charles of Hesse, who was Reformed, tells the following story: "I dined every day with the King. One day I had a sufficiently animated conversation with him on the subject of religion. He could not see a crucifix without blaspheming, and when he spoke of it at dinner, as well as of the Christian religion, I could not join the conversation, but looked down and preserved a complete silence. At length he turned to me with vivacity, and said: 'Tell me, my dear Prince, do you believe these things?' I replied in a firm voice: 'Sire, I am not more sure of having the honor of seeing you, than I am that Jesus Christ existed, and died for us as our Savior on the cross.' The King remained a moment buried in thought, and grasping me suddenly by the right arm, he pressed it strongly and said: 'Well, my dear Prince, you are the first man of spirit, who has ever declared such a belief in my hearing.' After passing through the adjoining chamber the same afternoon, I found General Yanenzien, the greatest and strongest-minded man I ever knew. He had heard what had passed. He put his hands on my shoulders and covered me with a torrent of tears, saying: 'Now God be praised. I have lived to see one

honest man acknowledge Christ to the King's face.' I cannot retrace this happy moment of my life without the greatest gratitude to God, for having vouchsafed to me the opportunity of confessing before the King my faith in God and His Son."

Another Christian witness was Prince Leopold of Dessau, a Reformed Prince of the Anhalt line. He was one of the greatest of Frederick's Generals, having been Frederick's military tutor when a boy. He was really the founder of the German army, and, as Carlyle says, the inventor of the ramrod and modern military tactics. Voltaire says, he was the most experienced officer in Europe. He was a man of iron, with the heart of a woman.* He was not afraid to confess his Lord to his King, for he was a devout man—a man of prayer. He never went into a battle without asking God's aid. He had seized Leipsic and wanted to go to Dresden, when he was attacked by the enemy. He uncovered his head, and, in the presence of his troops, offered the following prayer: "O, my God, help me yet this once. Let me not be disgraced in my old days. But if thou wilt not help me, don't help those scoundrels, but leave us to try it out ourselves." Having uttered this prayer, he waved his

* When his daughter wanted to see him, a few days before she died, he marched his troops to Halle, thirty miles away, and when he saw his child at the window, he had them manoeuvre before her. Then he sent them to eat, while he stole away to the bridge over the river Saale, and like a child wept into the river.

hat to his troops and shouted, "On, in God's name." He gained a wonderful victory, for which Frederick, when he met him, uncovered his head, and threw his arms around him.

There were other Reformed witnesses to the truth in Frederick's court, who were ministers, not soldiers. They boldly stood up for Christianity. The French ministers at Berlin did so. Their leader was Beausobre (who was pastor at Berlin for forty-six years). He had calls to Utrecht, Hamburg and Savoy church in London, but remained in Berlin. Frederick the Great had a very high regard for him. When Frederick was Crown Prince, he had heard Beausobre preach, and wondered at his learning. For Beausobre was one of the most eloquent preachers of his day. He was an old man when Frederick came to the throne, but still full of fire and vigor. He revealed his great learning in a number of works on Church history, as his *History of Manichæism* and of the Reformation. He was an uncompromising foe of the Jesuits. Frederick wrote in 1736 to Voltaire: "I know in my fatherland two ministers, who are truth-loving philosophers, and because of their true activity and openheartedness they are not worthy to be exchanged for others. This witness I owe Beausobre and Reinbeck." Frederick names Beausobre as the finest writer in Berlin, and the finest talent which the persecutions drove out of France. Frederick's high regard for the

French refugees is shown in a letter to d'Alembert in 1720, when he says: "Allow me to think differently from yourself about the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. I thank Louis XIV. very much for it, and will thank his descendent, if he will do it over again." These French refugees, having sacrificed all for their faith, were not afraid to defend it against the persecutions of Rationalism, as they had done against the persecutions of Romanism.

But even more important than Beausobre in his influence, was Frederick the Great's court preacher, A. F. W. Sack. During the whole reign of Frederick he stood as a bulwark against infidelity. His master might deny Christ in the palace, he would preach Him in the cathedral next door. He had been appointed court preacher by Frederick's father just before he died. The old man, foreseeing perhaps the evil days of Rationalism, gave Sack some good advice: "Hold thyself to the New Testament. To fear God, to love Christ and to do right are the chief things in religion." Sack fulfilled the King's dying command during the reign of his son. He was born at Anhalt, and educated at Frankford on the Oder and Leyden. At Leyden he met Barbeyrac, the Swiss theologian, who had left Switzerland because of his liberal ideas. From him Sack seems to have developed into larger sympathies for truth in any form. This peculiarity enabled him to retain the respect of the infidel

King, and yet at the same time uphold the Reformed faith. He was a learned man, his linguistic and philosophical studies giving him influence with scholars and with the King, and the opponents of Christianity. In 1745 he was elected a member of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin. Sack, it is true, made concessions to natural religion, and yet he demanded a revelation in addition to reason. He represented virtue as the essential element of religion, and divine revelation as the confirmation of natural religion.

Over against the Rationalists he published his greatest work in 1751, entitled "The Defence of Christianity." In it he defends the very doctrines attacked by the King, revelation and immortality. He concedes the power of natural theology, but is a Supernaturalist.* He shows the special need of faith in Christ as the Mediator, and he also shows the truth of immortality. But his influences reached beyond his writings. For forty years he preached in the cathedral, and there was an unction in his sermons (so different from the Rationalists), that brought the hearer nearer to Christ. His sermons were published and went through many editions.† A very fruitful labor of Sack's were his meetings on Sunday

* "The objective conditions of salvation," he says, "are miraculously prepared in redemption, the subjective appropriation of them left to man's freedom. God cannot convert man without man. Man cannot convert himself without God."

† The pious wife of Frederick the Great, although a Lutheran herself, published six of them in 1778, writing for them a most beautiful introduction.

afternoons, when he gathered the Reformed students of the ministry together at his house. There he talked with them familiarly, answering their questions and leading their thoughts above the vapid Rationalism of the day to God and Christ.

His most important labor, however, was as religious teacher of the next king when a boy. Prussia owes it to him that its succeeding kings were orthodox. Frederick the Great had wandered from orthodoxy. Sack brought the royal line back again. During the Seven Years' War, when the court was at Magdeburg, Sack taught the young Prince. With what great care and faithfulness and anxiety he did it. He realized his great responsibility for the nation ; for its millions and the future of Germany hung on his shoulders.* It was through his wise and liberal but orthodox teachings that the young Prince accepted the old faith instead of the prevalent Rationalism of the day, and so the line of Prussian Kings, so mighty in influence, was preserved for Christ. The Reformed Church and the Christian world owes a debt of gratitude to Sack for saving the crown of Germany to orthodoxy.†

But Rationalism appeared in other places than at the

* Life of Sack, by his son, page 82.

† What a lesson of encouragement there is here for the Christian minister or worker. He little knows the result of his work. Sack in saving a soul, saved a nation, and virtually saved Protestant Europe for orthodoxy, for Germany is the leading Protestant nation of that continent. Similar results may come from our work. For no act is small when done for Christ. Doing it for Him makes it great.

court. It began to permeate everything and to spread everywhere. It appeared in the universities, where rationalistic professors taught it, although we are glad to say, few of them were from the Reformed Church. It appeared in the ministers, for they learned it in the universities. They no longer preached the old doctrines, but preached morality and virtue instead.* It acquired so much power that it began to reform the liturgies and the hymn books, and even remodel the Bible. Thus the first verse of it ("In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth") was changed to make it harmonize better with science and read thus: "God eternal by whom nothing exists, made a commencement of all things by calling into being the constituent elements thereof." Thus the naturalness and unction of the Bible was destroyed.

In this movement a Reformed minister was quite prominent, George Jacob Pauli, pastor of the German Reformed church at Halle. His father who had preceded him as pastor at Halle, had been a most pious man, a descendent of the great Reformed theologian, Tossanus. What a difference between father and son. The latter became pastor at Halle in 1775. He was a Rationalist of the purest water, but active and amiable. He found it hard to preach on the Heidelberg Catechism on Sunday

* Sermons became moral essays. Thus a Christmas sermon on Christ's birth in a stable had for its theme, "The best way to feed cattle," and an Easter sermon on the resurrection, has as its theme, "The benefits of early rising."

afternoons, as was the custom, because he did not believe its doctrines. So he finally got out an edition of his own, which omitted all that was polemical. And what appeared to him difficult of belief, was printed in small letters. He also avoided all Pietism in the catechism. But his greatest change was in the hymn book. The Rationalists were bitterly opposed to the old Reformed Psalms. He, like them, tinkered the old hymns, for the Rationalists sought to improve them by leaving out all that was supernatural.* Every element of devotion and fancy was taken out of them. Pauli's hymn book contained 363 hymns, and was introduced into his church on March 8, 1795, just after his death. There are marked changes in this book. Of Luther's great hymn, only in the last verse was the "Lord's Sabaoth" retained. Thus there was sung to the tune "Nun danket alle Gott," a hymn "Thou desireth, Lord my God, that I love myself." Hymns thus descended to moral duties. There was no aspiration to God in them. They became mere platitudes without piety or poetry. As Albertz says: "They were neither the song of Moses nor the song of the Lamb, but were without depth of faith, or strength of poetry."

* An amusing illustration is told of their attempt to change Gerhardt's hymn, "Now peaceful all the forests rest." But as that was too poetic, for forests do not rest, they changed into "Now peaceful rests the entire world." But then this was found not to square with science, for the whole world does not rest at once, as only half of the human race are asleep at a time. So they changed it further into "Now peaceful rests a hemisphere." Paul Gerhardt would hardly have recognized his own hymn.

But in spite of all the Rationalism of the day, the truth lived on. When Frederick died in 1786, there came a reaction, for Rationalism failed to satisfy men's hearts. The next King, Frederick William II., alarmed at the frivolity of the age, and realizing his responsibility as the head of the State and of the Church, issued an edict in 1788, by the advice of his ecclesiastical councillor, Wollner. This decree extolled the orthodoxy of the past, and ordered that all ministers and school teachers should adhere to the doctrines of the old symbolical books, and if they did not, they would be liable to be removed. The King tried to carry out this decree by appointing a commission in 1792 to examine all candidates for the ministry, and thus prevent the Rationalists from getting into the ministry. But all this raised a tremendous storm. Many of the Germans looked at this as tyranny or Caesaropapie. The Rationalists boasted that it showed that orthodoxy meant tyranny, and Rationalism meant religious freedom. The decree could not be carried out, for as some one says: "Religion was not a matter of police law. The faith of a nation can not be prescribed like the cutting and fitting of a uniform." The King did remove one Rationalistic pastor, Schultz of Gielsdorf, who had attacked Christianity in a book, but they gave him a civil position to atone for it. A commission travelled up and down the land to purge the schools and the churches, but they met with a cold reception, especially at Halle, where the stu-

dents expelled them in 1795. The next King revoked this decree against the Rationalists. Rationalism was to be put down, not by a movement downward from the King, but upward through the people and the universities. Rationalism had to be met with in the realm of thought and not by force, its errors answered by truth and its deadness by earnest Christian life. These answers in the Reformed Church we will notice in the succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER III.

THE OFFICIAL ANSWERS TO RATIONALISM BY THE REFORMED.

Never in any age has God left Himself without a witness. Among His witnesses, faithful and true, the Reformed have ever held an honored and prominent place. Her members sealed their faith with their blood on many days of martyrdom. And when persecution by force gave way to persecution in thought (Rationalism), she was still true to her character as a witnessing Church. Her part in this great controversy with free thought has often been forgotten or ignored. It is, therefore, all the more important that it should be told and measured.

SECTION I.

THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE OPPOSITION TO RATIONALISM.

The Reformed Church was less affected by Rationalism than her sister Church, because there were forces inherent in her genius and history that enabled her the better to resist its inroads. For

(1) She was a *Biblical* Church. While the Lutheran Church emphasized the doctrine of justification by faith, she

brought into prominence the supremacy of the Scriptures. The Bible was the centre of her creeds and the guide to her worship. And her innate faith in the Bible as the revelation of God enabled her the better to resist the Rationalists, who denied the need of a revelation.

(2) She was a *catechetical* Church. Every Sabbath her ministers preached on the Heidelberg Catechism. By so doing they indoctrinated their people against the Rationalists, thus enabling them to be able to give a reason for the hope that was within them. This preaching on the catechism too had a tendency to keep Rationalists from entering her pulpits, for it put them in the dilemma of either preaching on doctrines of that creed which they did not believe, or of spending their time in publicly denying them before a congregation that tenaciously held them.

(3) She was a *rational* Church. Though not Rationalistic, she was rational, that is, she aimed to satisfy the reason. While the Lutheran Church tended toward mysticism, as in the sacraments, she inclined toward a rational solution of the mysteries. And since she thus aimed to satisfy the reason, there was less cause within her for a reaction from her doctrines into Rationalism. Gass says: "The Reformed Church needed less the freeing from Rationalism in theology, it was already more rationally arranged and more sharply stated."

(4) And yet, while a rational Church, she was an *experimental* Church, that is, she emphasized experience. Ebrard says: "She was the Church of the believing congregation." She aimed to satisfy the heart, as well as the head, and in doing so set the heart as a counterpoise, which checked the reason from asserting too much authority.

For these reasons Rationalism entered into her more slowly and exerted less control. Ebrard calls attention to the fact that Rationalism had scarcely a single representative among Reformed dogmaticians. Stosch at Frankford on the Oder, Mursinna at Halle, Grimm at Duisburg and Munscher and Robert at Marburg being the most prominent examples. And he also says that many Reformed congregations, especially in the Northern Rhine, would not permit a Rationalist to enter their pulpits.

Rationalism gradually gained power over the masses, until the people

"Were blinded with doubt,
In wildering mazes lost."

Then there arose two classes of opponents, Supranaturalists and the supernatural Rationalists. The Supranaturalists emphasized the need of a special revelation through the Bible, and hence they were strong adherents of the Scriptures, and their replies were mainly biblical. The supernatural Rationalists made some concessions to

the Rationalists, and their replies were more inclined to be philosophical than biblical. Yet there were all shades of supernatural Rationalists, from those almost orthodox, to those almost rationalistic.

We might perhaps take Zollikofer as a representative of the supernatural Rationalists, although he inclines toward the Rationalists. He was one of the most famous pulpit orators of his day, and was called "the Demosthenes of the eighteenth century." He was a Swiss by birth, but was educated at Bremen and Utrecht, where he gave more attention to literature than to theology. He returned to Switzerland, but the plain Swiss failed to appreciate his brilliant rhetoric. So when he was called to Leipsic in 1758, he accepted the call and was pastor there for thirty years. Here he gained his fame, and brought that small unknown congregation in an ultra Lutheran land into prominence. His congregation was composed of intelligent merchants, while the city was full of ridicule of religion. He endeavored, without giving offence to the Rationalists, to call their attention to higher things. He tried to awaken in his hearers an appreciation of what was noble in their nature, that they might develop it. His sermons (published after his death in fifteen volumes) were mainly moral addresses, with a text for a motto. Especially were his Reformation Day addresses eloquent. They were on such topics as peace and tolerance. At other times he would preach on friend-

ship, and education, and social life. But in doing this, he sacrificed some of the fundamental positions of the Reformed. For twenty years, he said, he forgot that he was Reformed, so as to remind himself that he was a Christian. He was not clear in his statements of the relation of the Son to the Father in the Trinity, and he held that the death of Christ was not so much a vicarious atonement, as a pledge of God's willingness to pardon. Over against the Pietists he held that conversion was not necessary, for virtuous people needed only a reformation. He thus made many concessions to Rationalism. On his tomb his epitaph fittingly represents him as conversing in heaven with Jesus and Socrates. And yet there was a suggestiveness, as well as an unction in the eloquence of his sermons that made them helpful. He was not a Rationalist, for Christ's resurrection, ascension and eternal glory were to him positive facts. He compiled a popular hymn book, which introduced later hymns into it, in addition to the Psalms, and it had a large circulation. He wrote several hymns, of which "Der du das Dasein mir gegeben" is the best. "As a preacher he ranked with Reinhardt, though superior to him, both as an expositor and in definite aim and joyous fervor."

F. S. G. Sack, the son of the court preacher of Frederick the Great, was also a supernatural Rationalist. He was educated at Frankford on the Oder, and then traveled through England. After a pastorate at Magdeburg, he

was called to Berlin. He was appointed court preacher there, but, owing to dizziness, was not able to preach very much for a long while. He, therefore, transferred his labors mainly to education. During the sad years, 1806-13, he greatly strengthened the King and his congregation by a series of pamphlets, and in 1816 the King made him, with the Lutheran superintendent Borowski, a bishop, and gave him the degree of the Red Eagle. He was an independent thinker. The nobility of man's nature, to which grace joined itself, became so prominent, that conversion and justification were put into the background. He was a better teacher and catechist than a preacher. There he especially revealed precision of thought, with earnestness and friendliness to the catechumens, which gave him great power over them. He, however, although concessive to Rationalism, bitterly opposed the bold Rationalism of Bahrdt, and as the new Pantheism came up, he became more conservative, and opposed it. He died October 2, 1817.

Of the second class of opponents to the Rationalists, the Supranaturalists, who looked on Rationalism as evil and only evil, we might mention Gottfried Menken as an example. He was a descendent of Lampe, the famous theologian, and was born at Bremen, May 29, 1768. He was naturally of a mystical tendency. He attended the university at Jena in 1788. In that hot-bed of Rationalism he was troubled with doubts, although he clung to the

old faith. On one occasion he prayed : "Dost thou exist, Lord God, and is the Bible thy work ? then bless thou my search, that I may be sure of thee and thy Word. If thou wilt hear me, my whole life shall be consecrated to thy service." He found comfort and guidance only in the Bible and Böhme's works. He finally became so disgusted with the prevailing Rationalism, that the only professor, whose lectures he would attend, was Griesbach, on Church history. He remained away from the others, "because," he said, "he did not want to bow the knee to philosophy." He spent his time in reading the Bible, saying : "My reading begins with Moses, and ends with John." He said he was willing to be a "Christian idiot," rather than believe such philosophy. Gradually he came more and more out of his mysticism into the clear light of grace. In 1790 he went to the university of Duisburg, whither he was drawn because Lampe had preached there, and one of its professors, Berg, was from Bremen. But he found Rationalism there too. However he felt more at home, as he became acquainted with the leading Pietistic Reformed there, as Achelis, the judge, and Rector Hasenkamp. He also visited the Wupperthal, and was greatly encouraged at the religious life he found there. He was licensed 1791, and as a licentiate preached at St. Remberti church, Bremen, with such great success, that the people streamed to the house of his father after service to congratulate him on the propitious future of his

son. He returned to Duisburg and attacked Professor Grimm, who by a work on demonology, had said that the devil was a myth. This created a great sensation. The students annoyed him so much that he was glad to leave Duisburg and accept a call as assistant pastor at Uedam near Cleve in the same region where his ancestor, Lampe, had begun his ministry. Here he became acquainted with Collenbusch and came under the influence of Collenbusch's views which he systematized. In 1794 he became assistant to J. C. Krafft, pastor of the Reformed church at Frankfurt, where he exerted a spiritual influence on the rich merchants who made up the congregation. Krafft died very suddenly in his arms as he was rising from a meal to offer prayer. Menken was so moved by his sudden death, that he took for his motto "sursum corda." He was called to Wetzlar in 1796, and there published another work against the Rationalists, entitled, "The Happiness and Victory of the Godless." He also began publishing his series of homilies. In them he reveals his style of preaching as Biblical and analytical, for he was opposed to the synthetic method of taking a text merely as a motto. He wanted to preach the words of the Bible and nothing else. His style of preaching was described as "of the Bible, out of the Bible, and according to the Bible." Through these published sermons he gained a wide reputation, and was called in 1802 to St. Martin's church in Bremen.

Bremen has over one of its gates the inscription, "Lord, preserve the asylum of thy church," and it had been the asylum of God's saints when they fled from persecution. But Menken declared that it had become the asylum of Rationalism. Of course the Rationalists bitterly opposed his coming, but he boldly bore his testimony against them. He has been called, "the Elijah of Bremen." His colleague, Mallet, called him the best preacher in Germany. He wanted to preach "the Word, the whole Word and nothing but the Word." He drew large audiences and exerted a wide influence, but his published works gave him still greater fame. He was very severe in all polemics against Rationalists. He could see nothing but evil in philosophy, which was at the basis of their views. He called Kant the most destructive of men, and in his intensity he went so far as to say that even Lavater and Stilling were influenced by Satan. His intense opposition to Rationalism led him to the opposite extreme. He held that those who defended orthodoxy against Rationalism, had been so much occupied with defending the divinity of Christ, that they had forgotten his humanity. He therefore made Christ's humanity prominent, and held that the Son took human nature, not as it came from God before the fall; but that the Son, in order to be a true man, took sinful nature as it was after the fall, in other words, that he took sinful humanity unto Himself. His mission as Redeemer was to make the

whole lump of humanity holy, by sanctifying the part He assumed. This He did by struggle and suffering, until at death, when He had completely annihilated depravity.* Christ saved us therefore by His subjective atonement, rather than by His objective atonement on the cross.† This view, however, contradicts Luke 1 : 35, where the humanity at Christ's birth is spoken of as "that holy thing." The general trend of his theology was Biblical rather than philosophical or confessional. He was simply Evangelical rather than Reformed in doctrine, for he opposed predestination. He died at Bremen, June 1, 1831.

* Notwithstanding His possession of this depraved nature, Christ through the power of His divinity, not only kept His human nature from manifesting itself in sin, but gradually purified it through struggle and suffering, until at death He had extirpated its original depravity and redeemed it to God.

† This view has been called "redemption by sample," and was held by Edward Irving of England,

CHAPTER III.—SECTION II.

OPPOSITION IN THE SYNODS.

The only Reformed General Synod of Germany, the General Synod of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark, protested against Rationalism most vigorously. It had always watched with considerable anxiety, the orthodoxy of the university of Duisburg, which was located in its midst. In 1677 it summoned Professor Von Maestrich, and in 1719 Professor Raab, to appear before it for departures from orthodoxy. In 1778 this General Synod took direct action against Rationalism. It said that "it looked with sorrow, because in various parts of Germany there were grave departures from the fundamental doctrines of the faith." It ordered the Reformed ministers to watch against these dangerous errors, and by preaching and catechization to indoctrinate their people against them. It also ordered the inspectors of the various Classes to inquire into the orthodoxy of the ministers and school teachers, and to see that at the examinations orthodoxy be insisted upon. The General Synod of 1784 ordered that they should be very careful about the books that came into their congregations. These actions were echoed by the Synods and the Classes again and again. When

the new hymn book was ordered to be introduced by the General Synod in 1736, the Berg Synod opposed it for two years, because they were afraid lest through it Rationalism might enter their churches, as had been done by so many rationalistic hymn books in other places. And when the later hymn book was ordered to be introduced in 1773, it was very slowly introduced into Berg (and not into Elberfeld until 1805) because of this fear of Rationalism. Some parts of the Northern Rhine region, as Berg and Tecklenburg, have had no rationalistic pastors, because the people would not have them. Very few districts in Germany can say as much as that.

CHAPTER III.—SECTION III.

THE OPPOSITION TO RATIONALISM IN REFORMED UNIVERSITIES.

It was in the universities that Rationalism had its birth, and there it found its home. What was the attitude of the Reformed universities toward it? There were in the main five universities that were Reformed—Marburg, Herborn, Duisburg, Frankford on the Oder, and Heidelberg.

Marburg.

This university was probably the largest and most important of the Reformed universities since Heidelberg had lost its prosperity and influence under its Romish rulers. When Wolff came to it from Halle, it took its stand against Rationalism, for his coming was bitterly opposed by the theological faculty. During his stay there, his teachings were strongly opposed by the great Kirchmeyer (J. Christian) and G. Lewis Christian Mieg. At the second jubilee of the university, August 14, 1727, Kirchmeyer published a work in which he declared that the Hessian Church must hold fast to the old doctrines of Franz Lambert, Hesse's first Reformer. Kirchmeyer's successor was Daniel Wytttenbach, a Swiss. He has been

called a Wolfian, because he gave natural theology a larger place in this Dogmatics; but he still held to the Federal theology, although he opposes Supralapsarianism. He was a supernaturalist. "He uses the scientific, mathematical method of Wolff to sustain the doctrines of his Church against skepticism." He thus succeeded in retaining most of the future teachers of Hesse for orthodoxy. But Robert, a later colleague of his, was a Rationalist. Robert declared that there would be no quiet in the theological world as long as the Churches held to their creeds, and he wanted them put away. But his wish brought forth no result, except to himself, for he, to the surprise of all, retired from his professorship of theology and entered the law department of the university as professor. After Wytttenbach came Samuel Endeman in 1782. During his time the new rationalism of Kant appeared, against which he labored as Kirchmeyer had against Wolff's Rationalism. This new Rationalism was introduced into the philosophical faculty of the university by Bering in 1788, and by Charles Daub, who taught it, 1789-94, with great power, and by William Munscher, professor of Church history (1792). The faculty now began to change toward Rationalism. And yet in it there still remained the leading professor of theology, Albert J. Arnoldi, a man of great learning but more of an exegete than a dogmatician. He bitterly opposed Paulus, as his predecessors had opposed Wolff and Kant.

Kantianism, however, began to permeate the Hessian Church. The fourth centennary of the university and of the reformation (1817) brought new life into the old Church, and with 1830 a new era dawned on the university, as Julius Muller, Vilmar and Heppe aided in the revival of piety. This university so early placed, in spite of its protests, in contact with Rationalism of Wolff, has revealed a noble list of brave defenders of the old faith in Kirchmeyer, Wytttenbach, Endemann and Arnoldi, and the later professors.

Duisburg.

This university was from its beginning more inclined to freedom of thought than the others. Thus when Cartesianism was driven out of the university of Herborn as being heterodox, and when it was forbidden at Marburg, it found a home here. The first rector, Clauberg, was a Cartesian, although holding to the Federal theology. But as Cocceianism gained the ascendancy more and more in the Reformed Church, this university was less and less suspected of heterodoxy, and was considered quite orthodox. It was located in the midst of the most orthodox part of the Reformed Church, the northern Rhine, whose Synod watched over its orthodoxy with great concern. And yet there was a sign of Rationalism in Duisburg long before Wolff. For as early as 1688 Professor Holsius had published a book advocating the right of reason to prove the Scriptures, and declaring theology to be the

handmaid of reason, whereas the opposite is the truth. But owing to its surroundings, this university remained orthodox until the latter part of the eighteenth century, when Rationalism came in and gained power until all its professors were rationalists, except Berg. Grimm was a blatant rationalist and Moller was a Kantian. But Berg's beautiful Christian character and his great learning in the Semitic languages were a mighty tower of strength for the old faith. He was succeeded by F. A. Krummacher, who was orthodox. Thus this university bore its testimony for well nigh a century, until at last it almost succumbed to Rationalism.

Frankford on the Oder.

We have been able to gain very little information about this university. It is altogether likely that as it was situated near Berlin, it was in close sympathy with the court and felt its influence for or against Rationalism. Of its professors we find only Stosch noticed as a Wolfian. We presume, therefore, the most of them were orthodox. Sack, the son of Frederick the Great's court preacher, was a supernatural rationalist. But Rationalism had strong opponents, as in Noltenius, who once said "the court congregation would be the last to clean out the old leaven." Frankford was only a small university, and the Reformed were few in Eastern Germany. So its importance was therefore small.

Herborn.

This university felt the influence of Rationalism less than any other in the Reformed Church. It early showed its position, as Prof. Melchior attacked Spinoza's positions in a tract in 1672. Two influences tended to cause this. One was because it was surrounded by such a strongly Pietistic neighborhood. The other was due to its close connection with Holland. And as Holland remained orthodox long after Germany, this university sympathized with the Dutch orthodoxy. As a result of these two influences we have failed to find a single rationalist mentioned in its history. On the contrary, it is spoken of as the only Reformed university to which a student could be sent in the days of Rationalism without fear of being corrupted by doubt. Its professors, therefore, must have borne a steady witness for the truth. However it was a small university, and its influence was therefore somewhat small.

Heidelberg.

This university during the eighteenth century had lost its prestige. The glory it had had in the preceding centuries had departed, and it was only a shadow of its former self. Gradually the Romish Elector, supported by the Jesuits, weakened its influence. A Romish faculty was added to the Reformed. Then the Reformed pastors at Heidelberg were made professors of theology in it. Often a professorship would be left vacant. There were not more

than two or three theological professors at a time. The university had to struggle for existence. The number of its students was small, and its struggle was against Romanism rather than Rationalism. Still some of its theological students went from the Palatinate to the rationalistic universities of North Germany, as Jena and Halle. They brought back with them the rationalistic leaven. This finding no barrier (for the Reformed were almost crushed by their persecutions) spread far and wide. It crept into the university through Professor J. F. Mieg, the most influential minister of the Palatinate in his day. His hymn book issued 1785 reveals a spirit most directly opposed to the Heidelberg Catechism. Then came the tendency in the Palatinate to put away the Heidelberg Catechism and substitute others. Thus a book entitled "Guide to Religious Instruction for Children of Tender Age," by Amadeus Bohme (1790) came into general use in the catechetical classes. Its character can be seen in its first answer, "What is God?" Answer, "The first cause of all things." Compare this with the warm comforting first answer of the Heidelberg, and one can easily see the difference. It was a weak, spiritless compilation, and not a book of solid power and blessed comfort like the Heidelberg. One man, however, is to be named as a staunch defender of orthodoxy, Professor J. F. Abegg. He was one of the most godly men of his age. To him the Heidelberg Catechism was a mine of spiritual truth.

The spirituality of his character, his great Biblical lore made him a great blessing to the university. He became professor of philology at Heidelberg in 1789, in 1800 pastor of St. Peter's church, and 1819 professor of practical theology. He was a fine preacher and full of unction, especially in his confirmation sermons. He was a fine exegete and a great admirer of the old Heidelberg Catechism. But above all his learning was the religious personality of his character. He was the artist of the inner life, and gave the best possible answer to Rationalism—a holy life. Charles Daub, the brilliant philosopher, came to Heidelberg in 1795, but although he aimed to answer the Rationalists, his views were so full of concessions to them, that he constantly appears vacillating. He was followed by Ullman, who remained a tower of strength for orthodoxy. He was succeeded by Schenkel, who betrayed his trust. For he was elected from Switzerland as a representative of orthodoxy, but went over into the camp of the enemy and carried the university with him. Still in the days of Ullman and after, the university was no longer Reformed, but union.

CHAPTER IV.

INDIVIDUAL ANSWERS TO RATIONALISM ON THE NORTHERN RHINE.

The Reformed Church bore her witness for the truth not merely through her official representatives, as the Synods and universities, but also through individuals, whose voices were lifted up against the errors of Rationalism. It is a mistake to suppose that Pietism died out as Rationalism came in. It had fastened itself too deeply into the heart and history of the Reformed Church to die out. It stood as the best answer to Rationalism. We have time to refer to only a few of the most prominent, whom the rationalists delighted to call Pietists, because they held to the old faith. There were many others. They not merely met Rationalism by books and arguments, but by the better answer of an active Christianity. "The best apologetics is energetics." The logic of true Christian lives or the results of an active Christian Church Rationalism is powerless to answer, because it cannot produce as great results. Oberlin's labors at Kornthal and Wichern's at the Rauhe Haus at Hamburg (both of them Lutherans) were better answers to skepticism than any others. The Reformed had many such witnesses. They

not merely answered Rationalism with arguments, but they also developed Christian characters, living churches and active philanthropies. Sneered at as Pietists by the rationalists, their name of derision became a badge of honor. Some of them opposed Rationalism by books, as Stilling and Menken; others by revivals, as Tersteegen and G. D. Krummacher; others by practical organizations, as Mallet; but all labored to offset Rationalism by practical, experimental Christianity.

There is an important fact to be noticed in regard to their opposition. It is significant that the two places in the Reformed Church that came into greatest prominence in Pietism, are the two that are most prominent in their opposition to Rationalism. It has been charged against Pietism that Rationalism was due to the one-sided, narrow development of Pietism by emphasizing feeling and forgetting the intellect. If this be true, then we ask: Why was it that the most Pietistic districts in Germany were the most prominent in resisting Rationalism? If, according to this view, Pietism were responsible for the reaction into Rationalism, these should have been the most rationalistic, whereas just the contrary is the truth. No, Bishop Hurst is right when he says in his History of Rationalism that "it was Pietism that *saved* Germany in the midst of the Rationalism." But for Pietism, German Christianity would have been overwhelmed by the flood of unbelief, and Germany, instead of France, would have had a revo-

lution. If Pietism saved Germany, let us honor Pietism for it. This fact is true of the Lutheran Church, as well as of the Reformed. For Wurtemberg, the most strongly Pietistic land of Lutheranism, was the slowest to yield to Rationalism. And in the Reformed Church the two districts most prominent in Pietism were the strongest to oppose Rationalism. They were the Northern Rhine and Bremen. Pietism, therefore, did not cause Rationalism. Worldliness and laxity of doctrine caused it. Pietism prepared Germany for, and saved her in, the age of Rationalism.

SECTION I.

GERHARD TERSTEEGEN.

He was born November 25, 1697, at Meurs. His name meant in high German "Zur Stiege," "to a stair." His life was truly a stairway—a Jacob's ladder—to heaven. His father was a merchant, but died when Gerhard was only six years old. But his heavenly Father took his earthly father's place in his affections. His mother sent him to the Latin school at Meurs. He studied Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and early revealed the great linguistic talents, which enabled him afterward to become the translator of so many works. On a public occasion he delivered a Latin oration with such success, that one of the chief magistrates advised his mother to send him to the university. This she declined, as she felt she had not the means. As the city would not edu-

cate her son, she gave this up. God, however, did not give it up, but made him a lay minister, preaching perhaps to more souls than any minister of his time.

So at the age of fifteen he was bound as an apprentice for four years to his brother-in-law, Matthew Brink, a merchant at Mühlheim on the Ruhr, which was about nine miles distant from Meurs. Brink was a practical business man, who had no sympathy for books or poetry, and proved to be a hard master to so studious a boy. It is said that when Tersteegen wanted to study, Brink would make him roll empty barrels in the yard, so as to break up his love for study, saying, "he that will serve the world, must serve her altogether." But, although Tersteegen had such difficulties, he was fortunate in having his lot cast in Mühlheim, a place so full of Pietism. For Untereyck's prayer meetings, held fifty years before, had left their impress on the community, and since that time had become common. During his first year there he became awakened, and underwent severe struggles, even spending whole nights in prayer and Bible reading, before he surrendered himself entirely to God. For Hoffman, a candidate of theology of the Reformed Church, had been holding prayer meetings there since 1710 on Thursdays, to which Tersteegen was led by a pious tradesman. He finally found peace in Christ in 1717. This peace continued in his soul for about two years, when in 1719 the reading of Böhme's writings cast

him again into a state of anxiety. In this condition he continued for five years. He describes his condition in the hymn "In Great Inward Distress :"

Jesus, pitying Savior, hear me,
Draw Thou near me,
Turn Thee, Lord, in grace to me ;
For Thou seest all my sorrow,
Night and morrow
Doth my cry go up to Thee.

Lost in darkness, girt with dangers,
Round me strangers,
Through an alien land I roam ;
Outward trials, bitter losses,
Inward crosses,
Lord, thou knowest, have sought me home.

In the midst of all these struggles he was always greatly strengthened by his attendance on the prayer meetings. He was on one occasion traveling along the road from Mühlheim to Duisburg, when he was seized with a severe attack of colic, so that he expected he would die. He turned aside into the forest, and earnestly prayed that the Lord would spare his life, so that he might prepare for eternity. Suddenly the pain left him, and he felt himself impelled to devote himself unreservedly to the Lord, who was so good to him. This period of spiritual eclipse ended on Thursday before Easter. Then, like Marquis DeRenty before him and Zollinger after him, he wrote his dedication to Christ in his own blood, as follows :*

* Doddridge, in his *Rise and Progress of the Soul*, proposes different formulas for such subscription.

“My Jesus :

Under hand and seal, I dedicate myself to Thee, my own Savior and Bridegroom, to be Thy full and eternal possession. From this night on I give up with all my heart all right and power that Satan may have given me with unrighteousness. For this, You, my blood Bridegroom, my Redeemer, through Thy death, wrestling and bloody sweat in Gethsemane's garden, bought me to be Thy property and Bride, burst the gates of death, and opened the heart of Thy Father, so full of love to me. From this night is my heart and entire love forever given and sacrificed to Thee as a due thank-offering. Thy will, not mine, be done from now on and in eternity. Command, control and rule in me. I give Thee full power over me and promise with Thy help and assistance rather to suffer this my blood to be poured out to its last drop, than in will and knowledge internally or externally to be untrue or disobedient to Thee. Behold, I am entirely in Thy possession, thou sweet Friend of my Soul, so that in pure love I may cling to Thee forever. Let not Thy Holy Spirit depart from me, and may Thy death struggle support me. Yes, Amen. Thy Spirit seal what is written in simplicity.

Thine unworthy friend,

G. T.

On Green Thursday evening, 1724, A. D.”

It was at this time that he wrote the hymn, “Wie bist du mir so innig gut,” (My great high priest, how kind thy love.) He used to express his experience in the words of Augustine :

My heart is pained nor can it be
At rest till it find rest in Thee.

He writes thus gratefully of the change that came over him : " God took me by the hand. He drew me from the yawning gulf, diverted my eye to Himself and opened to me the unfathomable abyss of His loving heart."

His growth in grace he hoped to aid by changing his business. He did not like the merchant's trade, because it compelled him to associate with all sorts of people, and thus his thoughts were distracted from religion and his growth in grace obstructed. His acquaintance with a pious linen weaver led him, like the Apostle Paul, to become a weaver. He found, however, that that trade was too severe, and his frequent headaches and attacks of colic compelled him to give it up. He then chose the easier trade of ribbon weaving, which would allow him plenty of time for meditation, as he would have no one with him except the person who wound the silk. Like the mystics, he practised asceticism in diet, living mainly on flour, water and milk. In the first years of his seclusion he ate only one meal a day, and drank neither tea nor coffee. Yet even though his income became ever so small, he was always liberal to the poor. When it became dusk, he would enter the homes of the sick and the needy, and give away what he could spare. When his father's property was divided, his family gave him a house as his share, so as to prevent him from giving that away. But he gradually mortgaged it to his brother John for money, the greater part of which he gave to the poor. As a result,

he would, especially in his early life, sometimes come to great poverty. When sick, he knew what it was to lie a whole day without any one to give him a cup of water. But afterward, when he allowed Sommer to stay with him, his condition became better, and he also became less rigid in his manner of living, as he took coffee. He labored at ribbon making for nine years, till 1728, when he gave up his trade entirely, feeling he must devote all his time to the Lord. After that time he was supported through the kindness of his friends, although Providence furnished him with enough literary work to aid him. (Although he gave up all manual labor, he yet acted as a physician, giving his medicines to the poor freely.) A merchant once called on him and offered him an annuity; a pious lady who had never seen him, appointed him in her will, as executor of her estate worth 40,000 florins, on condition he would take whatever he needed. And a Dutch gentleman offered him a bond of ten thousand florins, begging him with tears to take it. But he declined them all, although in later years, when unable to help himself, he was compelled to receive some gifts like these.

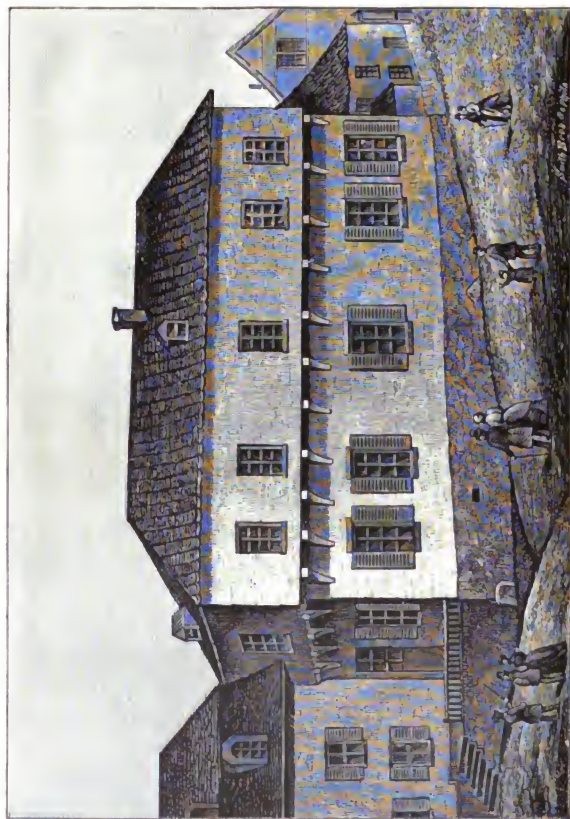
His public work as a speaker began in 1725. A revival broke out in that region, the second in that century, but the first that Tersteegen passed through.* Then it was that Hoffman called on him to speak in public, although it was against his will to do so. His addresses

* See Goebel History of the Rhenish Westphalian Church, Vol. III., page 341.

made a deep impression. Many of those awakened were by them brought to conversion, while others came to him for spiritual counsel. In 1740 the conventicles were arrested by order of the state authorities under Frederick the Great. Tersteegen therefore gave up the holding of conventicles, but continued his labors in translating Pietistic and mystical works, and was busy making pastoral visits, for many persons considered him their spiritual adviser. His correspondence also was very large. He made trips annually to Holland, where a gentleman of rank named Pauw, who had given everything to Christ, entertained him. Once, while on a journey to Holland with a company of merchants, he leaned his head backward and closed his eyes as if asleep. After the merchants had regaled each other with a number of stories, they proposed playing a game of cards. Tersteegen opened his eyes and said he had an excellent pack of cards in his bag. They asked him to produce them. He drew forth the New Testament. Some, when they saw it, said that it was a book that made people mad. He replied, "Is it not you who are mad?" He then rehearsed to them the foolishness of their own conversation and showed them the waste of their own time. Others approved of his remarks. At any rate they did not play cards after his remarks. In Holland on one occasion, when a Christian who thought he had attained peculiar peace, took occasion during dinner to criticize Tersteegen for being too active, Tersteegen

listened to all he had to say. And when dinner was over he offered up a fervent prayer, in which he commended his host to the Lord with such love, that his host was overcome and fell on his neck asking forgiveness. He also began visiting the districts neighboring to Mülheim, where the state order prohibiting conventicles did not affect them, as they were in the neighboring duchy of Pfalz Neuburg, and not in Prussia. In these districts he had many admirers, who gladly received him. He visited Mettman, Homberg, Heiligenhaus, and in 1747 Barmen. He thus writes, "I was constrained to travel around in the duchy of Berg for eleven days together, and was surrounded from morning to night. I thought myself once a few miles distant from a certain place, but I was waited for on the way and conducted to a barn, where I found about twenty persons desirous of hearing a good word from me. One morning when about mounting my horse, I found twenty-five persons assembled, to whom I could give only a short address. Some of them had come from a distance of several miles."

In these districts there had been a great awakening in 1727, which had resulted in the formation of brother-houses or pilgrims' cottages for those who desired to dwell apart from the world. These would contain about eight persons, and were centres of evangelization. The first of these was at Otterbeck, a mile and a half from Heiligenhaus, on the road between Elberfeld and Mühl-



TERSTEEGEN'S HOUSE AT MÜHLHEIM.

heim. The brothers there looked up to Tersteegen as their pastor, and he often held prayer meetings there, weekly for a while.* The other pilgrims' cottage (so called because often persons, who came from a distance, would be compelled to lodge in it) was at Mühlheim. Tersteegen first occupied Hoffman's house, but it became too small for his meetings, so he bought a larger house in 1746, in which he occupied the upper rooms, together with Sommer. The other rooms he gave to a house-keeper, who cooked for them, and for their guests and for the poor. The whole house could be used for his services. If he stood on the middle story, he could be heard in all the rooms above and below. The other pilgrims' cottage was at Barmen, in the house of his friend Evertsen, who was a man of wealth and a great admirer of Tersteegen. The Lord greatly blessed Evertsen in his ribbon factory. Fifty per cent. was too small a return, while three hundred per cent. was not unheard of. Evertsen became quite rich, and when he died he left to the churches and schools of the three denominations in his town in 1807 \$27,000, to which his brother added \$13,500 more. The invested funds of the Barmen Reformed church, including churches, schools, orphanages, etc., amounted to \$186,936 in 1889, a large part of which was given by these

* This community continued till 1800, when a farewell meeting was held there, at which Tersteegen's hymns were sung and selections from his works read. The Evangelical Brothers' Society now owns the place and occasionally holds meetings there.

Evertsen brothers, who were followers of Tersteegen. Elberfeld was also visited by Tersteegen. There his oldest brother lived and Caspary, his great friend. "Tersteegen's friends," says Goebel,* "composed an ever increasing part of the Reformed congregation there, which gladly received as its pastor (1816) the follower of Tersteegen, G. D. Krummacher, who combined Pietism with predestination." Dietrich, who died 1836, continued Tersteegen's conventicles up to his death, and they were a blessing to many. In Solingen and its vicinity Tersteegen had many adherents, as the Reformed pastor, Goebel (1724-42), and he held meetings there.

He also carried on a large correspondence with friends at a distance, as Count Louis Frederick of Castell on the Main, Count Charles Reinhard of Leiningen-Heidesheim in the Palatinate, Zollinger in Heidelberg, and Kolb at Mannheim. His correspondence reached out over Western Germany, Holland and even to America, where he corresponded with the brethren at Ephrata and along the Conestoga in Pennsylvania.

The awakening† in Barmen and the county of Berg in 1747 resulted in a mighty revival at Mülheim in 1750, which reached even to Meurs, west of the Rhine. About ten years after the holding of prayer meetings had been forbidden in 1740, they were begun again. This time a

* History of Rhenish Westphalian Church, Vol. III., p. 387.

† Goebel's History of Rhenish Westphalian Church, Vol. III., page 402.

Reformed student of theology from the university of Duisburg named Chevalier began them. Many souls were brought under conviction and came to Tersteegen so as to find the way of life. He did not at first take public part in the meetings, as he was unwell. But finally, on November 30, 1750, he arose in meeting for the first time in ten years to take part by publicly declaring himself in favor of them. Finally, at the urgent request of his friends, he allowed a meeting to be held in his house, where three or four hundred people assembled. The house was filled to the very door, so that they placed ladders on the outside that they might hear him. The state authorities and the ministers began to take alarm at this. So Tersteegen, being warned by a friendly bailiff, wrote to the judge showing him how inconsistent it was to prohibit meetings like these, and yet allow quacks, rope-dancers, mountebanks, gambling and taverns. The judge and the authorities granted the justice of his position. To the ministers he wrote, stating that there was nothing in these meetings that would give offence. They did not interfere with any public service, and they were not without blessing, for by them rough men became hungry for grace. He reminded them that they ought not to hinder the work of the Lord, and proved to them from the opinions of old and new theologians in the Reformed Church, as Lampe and Witsius, that such conventicles were not out of harmony with the Reformed Church. He suggested to Wurms, one of

the pastors, that he allow Chevalier to preach for him or to hold a service in his house under his supervision.* The only action the Presbyterium of the Reformed Church took in regard to the meetings, was not to forbid them, but to order that they should not be held at the same hour as the church service. These conventicles were therefore continued down to the time of Tersteegen's death and after, without being hindered by the state authorities, and they proved of great blessing both to the state and the Church.

It has been asserted that Tersteegen became a Separatist. This, however, is not true. Goebel† says, "Tersteegen desired to be and to remain a Reformed and Protestant Christian. His whole system and method depended on the Reformed contemplation." Ebrard‡ says, "Tersteegen is incorrectly placed as a Separatist, which he was not." Heppe§ says, "He never left the Reformed Church." Kerlin, the best biographer of Tersteegen,|| says, "We would not call him a Separatist, and are satisfied that he agreed with Calvin." Tersteegen himself said, "A Mystic cannot easily be a Separatist." The charge that he was put out of the Church for being a Pietist is therefore utterly without foundation.

* It is said that when Tersteegen heard that Wurms denounced the meetings from the pulpit, he said prophetically that Wurms would have a sudden death. And sure enough, in 1772, just after baptizing a child, Wurms did die suddenly.

† History of Rhenish Westphalian Church, Vol. III., page 413.

‡ Church History, Vol. IV., page 110, note.

§ History of Pietism, page 393.

|| Kerlen Life of Tersteegen, page 194.

He, however, gave up attending the Lord's Supper, because unworthy persons were allowed to commune, as Lodenstein had done, and yet he was always considered Reformed. "And yet this position," as Kerlen says,* "was exactly the position taken by the Heidelberg Catechism;" and we might add, the position of the Reformed Church in the United States in insisting on church discipline. Tersteegen did not deny the validity of the sacraments, as many of the Separatists had done. For he did not refuse to act as sponsor, which showed that he continued to believe in baptism. Toward the close of his life he became milder in his position about the Lord's Supper, and there is a tradition that just before his death he received the Lord's Supper from a believing pastor named Engel. He rarely attended church, although he would occasionally attend the preaching of a Pietistic minister, especially toward the close of his life.

His position about Separatism is shown by the following facts. He might easily have founded a sect, had he wanted to do so, for he had more followers than many who did found sects. From Amsterdam to Bern he had many adherents. They called him "father," although he forbade that name. But in spite of all this, he opposed the formation of sects. His opposition appears more strongly in regard to the Moravians. They did everything to win him to their denomination. Count Zinzen-

* Life of Tersteegen, page 93.

dorf at first wrote letters to him, and then sent Dober, one of their ablest men, to him. Dober, when he met him, showed him special honor, and threw himself at his feet imploring his blessing. But Tersteegen was not moved by them. On the contrary, in a letter to Eberhard, the Reformed pastor at Spire, he warned him against them, saying, "I believe that sect is not agreeable in the sight of God." He charged them with asserting an untruth, namely, that he had joined them, and thus they through a falsehood tried to draw his followers into their Church. He charged them that their views merely awakened souls, but did not tend to the development of Christian character. He also wrote a long letter to a friend in Holland against them entitled "A Writing of Warning against Levity." Indeed, it was owing to the influence of Tersteegen that the Moravians did not reap the harvest for their Church along the Rhine in Western Germany, as they had done in Eastern Germany. Tersteegen's opposition to them and his upholding the Church, retained the Pietistic element in the Reformed Church. The only Moravian church along the Rhine, except Basle, was at Neuwied, and that had been a French, not a German, Reformed church. One year before his death he confessed that more than thirty years before he had seen the misery of the so-called Separatists with disapproval and grief, and even in 1744 he warned Bersinger emphatically against separation. So Tersteegen, instead of being a Separatist, was

against them. Especially after the edict against conventicles, in 1740, did he return more and more to the Church. In his prayer meetings in 1754 and 1755 he prayed most earnestly for all servants of the Church. He was the more willing to do this, because he saw that the number of Pietistic ministers in the Church was increasing. He therefore urged his adherents to remain in the Church. The result has been that the followers of Tersteegen have been the most churchly people in the land, as at Elberfeld, Mühlheim and Siegen. And when Eller and Schleiermacher founded the Separatistic colony at Ronsdorf, he wrote an effectual admonition against them. His followers therefore refused to leave the Reformed Church.

Tersteegen had always been sickly, yet lived to the good old age of seventy-two, though he suffered much from headache, colic, palpitation of the heart, even to fainting. Sometimes when racked with the severest toothache, he would compose his sweetest hymns. He bore his headache with the patience of a Job. These sufferings gave him the paleness of a corpse, so that he called himself "a candidate for death." In his ascetic diet he reminds us in America of Edward Payson, the saint of Maine. He wore a long brown coat, and in this he was imitated by his followers. He gradually retired from public religious work, especially as he had suffered a rupture from speaking, about 1756. Toward the end of his life dropsy set in. On March 30, 1769, he was very weak,

but resigned to God's will. From April 1-3 he was obliged to sit forty-eight hours in an arm chair, without being able to lie down. He passed these hours in great agony, but never complained. After a brief sleep he would wake up, saying, "O God, O Jesus, O sweet Jesus." Referring to Malachi 3 : 3, he said, "My purification was not done at once. God finds something else to purify." He died April 3, 1769. Three days later he was buried in the church yard at Mühlheim, when a large crowd gathered to show their great affection and respect for him. Wurms, the Reformed pastor, preached his funeral sermon on Tersteegen's favorite text, Malachi 3 : 3. Rector J. G. Hasenkamp of Duisburg, at the request of Tersteegen's friends, made an address at the house on Revelations 3 : 21, and Pastor Engel read a poem.

Thus ended the life of one of the most consecrated men of his age. His whole life was a living prayer. The key to his life is found in his greatest hymn, "Lo ! God is Here." The continual presence of God was the constant thought of his mind. He tried to live as in the presence of God. The testimony borne to his character by all was, "This man was truly a friend of God." Said an inn-keeper of Mühlheim : "Every time I pass that man's house a feeling of reverence comes over me, and the mere recollection of him makes as deep an impression on me as many a sermon." Tersteegen was a mystic, and yet a practical mystic. For to the rich inward experience of

God's love he united deeds of love. By his visits to the sick and the neglected, he was the forerunner of the modern Innere Mission of Germany. Even the Jews, when ill, sent to him for medicine, and during his last illness it was reported that they had appointed a meeting to pray for his recovery. Tersteegen declared that his whole theology was contained in one sentence, "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself." In 1727 he expressly recommended four things to a friend, "the atonement of Jesus, the words of Jesus, the spirit of Jesus, the example of Jesus." He was the Reformed Thomas A. Kempis, whose life was a constant imitation of Christ. The opinion held of him by the Reformed Church of Germany is summarized by F. W. Krummacher, who said, when pastor at Elberfeld, "O what would we sooner see than that God would send to our county of Berg another Tersteegen." The Reformed Church is glad to claim him among her sons. This was shown at the dedication of his monument at Mühlheim in 1838, when all the ministers of Mühlheim took part, as well as Krafft, the pastor of the Reformed church at Frankford.

His literary labors were very great. His first composition was a catechism which he wrote in 1724 to instruct the children of his brother and sister. This was an excellent production, but was never published. In it he reveals the influence of the Federal school of theology, and especially of Lampe. A large part of his time was

taken up in translating Pietistic mystical works. He was a great translator of Latin, French and Dutch works, and would usually spend his evenings thus. He translated Labadie's Manual of Piety, and was thus the link between the awakening of the seventeenth century and that of the eighteenth. He also translated Poirer's and Guyon's works and the works of Louvigny and Kempis.

His own writings reveal great beauty and genius. His most important work against Rationalism and Infidelity (for his best answer to Rationalism was his consecrated life, rather than his books) was his book, "Thoughts of Tersteegen on the Philosopher of Sans Souci." It was directed especially against Frederick the Great. He attacks, first the King's epicurean ethics as neither philosophical nor Christian, and rebuked him for his biased judgments in matters of religion, as in calling martyrs raving suicides. Then he defends the immortality of the soul and the punitive justice of God. Throughout the book he meets Rationalism by Pietism. It is said that the King read the book and then said: "Can the Quietists in the land do this?" The King (probably in 1763, when on a visit to Wesel, not far from Mühlheim) invited Tersteegen to visit him, an honor which Tersteegen on account of his age and weakness declined. Another work of his was his "Spiritual Crumbs or Fragments." They contain his addresses, which were taken down by others. For in 1752, at the request of some of his followers, he

allowed them to take down an awakening sermon on 2 Corinthians 5 : 14, on "the strength of the love of Christ." It soon passed through six editions. Its favorable reception led to a demand for more of his sermons. From that time his sermons and prayers were taken down by eight writers, who stationed themselves down stairs in his house, where they could hear him distinctly. Within three years they gathered thirty-one of his addresses. He did not favor, neither did he hinder, this effort of his friends, as they did it for their own spiritual development. These were published three months before his death under a title chosen by himself, "Spiritual Crumbs from the Master's Table." They were in two volumes or four parts, and were used a great deal at conventicles. Most of the addresses had been delivered in 1753 and 1754, when he had attained his greatest intellectual and spiritual power; for soon after, in 1756, he gave up public speaking on account of a rupture. His letters published in four books were called "An Apothecary for Spiritual Patients." These letters admit us to his heart and reveal the richness of his spiritual life.*

* One of the most curious publications connected with Tersteegen was "The Pious Lottery." Saur published this in this country in 1744. It was a religious game, consisting of 331 tickets printed on stiff pasteboard and enclosed in a handsome box. Each ticket bore beside its number a selected passage from his writings. In playing the game, each player chose a number or a series of numbers. The person whose ticket won the game was expected to read aloud the passage printed on his ticket and to make it the subject of an exhortation to the company.

His works produced such a sensation that Consistoral-rath Hecker was sent from Berlin to Mühlheim as royal commissioner to inquire into his work. The choice of this pious minister was favorable to Tersteegen, for he had been reared near Mühlheim, and when a young man had learned to know him and had kept up his friendship with him for many years. After Tersteegen had with weakness and hesitation declared before him his witness to the truth on 1 Corinthians 6 : 19 and 20, Hecker confirmed what he said by an address on "The Excellence of the True Christian." Hecker sent the works of Frederick to him and asked his opinion about them. Tersteegen sent back a confession of his faith and subscribed a critique of the *Philosopher of Sans Souci*.

But it is especially as a poet that Tersteegen exerted his greatest influence. His most famous work, on which his reputation mainly rests, is his *Little Spiritual Flower Garden*, a collection of hymns and poems. It consisted of four books in the first edition, but all the following editions have three only, the third containing his 111 spiritual songs. It became so popular during his life that seven editions were published before he died. In Mühlheim and the neighborhood it holds a place next to the Bible and the hymn book. It was often used by travelers, as Professor Schubert, who kept it as a traveling companion when in the Island of Rugen. Saur in this country published a dozen large editions, and it was translated into

English and other languages. In this work there are many gems of thought and poetry, and some of his famous hymns, as "Lo, God is Here." (Gott ist gegenwärtig.) It is based on Genesis 28 : 17.

Lo, God is here, let us adore,
And own how dreadful is this place,
Let all within us feel his power,
And silent bow before his face.
Who know his power, his grace who prove
Serve him with awe, with reverence love.

Lo, God is here, Him day and night
The united choir of angels sing,
To him enthroned above all height
Heaven's host their noblest praises bring.
Disdain not, Lord, our meaner song,
Who praise thee with a stammering tongue.

Gladly the toys of earth we leave,
Wealth, pleasure, fame for Thee alone
To Thee our will, soul, flesh, we give,
O take, O seal them for thine own.
Thou art the God, Thou art the Lord,
Be Thou by all thy works adored.

Being of beings, may our praise
Thy courts with grateful incense fill.
Still may we stand before thy face.
Still hear and do thy sovereign will,
To thee may all our thoughts arise,
Ceaseless accepted sacrifice.

His hymns began to re-awaken the Reformed Church to new life. They were first sung in private houses and in prayer meetings, and brought great blessing. They were incorporated in the Moravian and Lutheran hymn books, as well as in the Reformed. His most famous

hymns were, "Gott ist gegenwärtig," "All genugsam Wesen," "Jauchzet, ihr Himmel frohlocket," "Siegesfürst und Ehrenkönig," "Brunn alles Heils, Dich ehren wir," "O Gott, O Geist des Lebens," "Kommt, Kinder, lasst uns gehen," "Der Abend kommt, die Sonne sich verdeckt."*

Some beautiful illustrations are told in connection with his most famous hymn, "Lo, God is here." Its theme is the constant presence of God. That rare child of God, Theodora Caritas, a two-year-old daughter of Count Zinzendorf, who was reared under such strong religious influence, and who, when a year and a half old, would pray and sing verses about Jesus, had a special inclination to this hymn. She often asked her father to sing it, and she had such a childlike feeling of the presence of God that she once answered her mother when she asked her where she was, "With the Savior and with papa." Six weeks later she lay on her dying bed and sang, "My Savior, take me into rest."

The third verse is often omitted, and yet there is a beautiful illustration told in connection with it. Two English missionaries were in India, Rev. Dr. Coke and Rev. Benjamin Clough. The former said to his companion, "My dear brother, I am dead to all but India." This thought at once cheered the spirit of the younger brother, and he began to sing the third verse of this hymn, begin-

* For the English translation of some of these hymns, see Appendix.

ning with "Gladly the toys of earth I leave." As he sang it, his aged friend joined with him and they cheered one another as they consecrated themselves afresh to God.

Stursburg says : The hymn "Lo, God is Here," glorifies and adores the presence of God as no other hymn in Christendom does. It makes the Christian life a course of life in the presence of God, and this doctrine was his centre above all others.

Tersteegen was one of the great Christian poets of Germany. He was however less forcible as a poet than Lampe, says Ebrard, but his poetry surpasses him in its fervor and the classical beauty of its form. Lange compares his poems to Angelius Silesius and says : "that they have such a beautiful form, that they remind one of the beauty and perfection of Gothic art." Bunsen places him as the first master of spiritual song, an honor also accorded to him by the Evangelical Hausschatz published by the Evangelical Society of Zurich. Hagenbach places him in the front ranks of religious poets, while Knapp declares "there are some pieces of inimitable depth, clearness and sympathy."

One of his most famous hymns is, "Come, Children, Let us Onward." (*Kommt, Kinder, lasst uns gehen.*)*

Every verse of this hymn, says Rev. Dr. Schaff, is a pearl. Krummacher, the author of "Elisha the Tishbite," wrote the following in his autobiography, "I found my

* See Appendix.

pride in sharing my birthplace, Meurs on the Rhine, with Tersteegen. Scarcely a day passed in which some accord of his pilgrim hymn, "Come, Children, Let us Onward," did not sound through my inmost being."*

* A noble Jonathan, a merchant, Metsgar, of Boblingen, in 1886, had often stirred up his heart with this hymn. Early in his youth he had served an apprenticeship at Neustadt on the Linde. His attention was directed to it then. A merchant came into his store to make a purchase. Jonathan asked him if he did not need this or that. He then asked him why he did not buy anything. The man replied in the fifth verse of the hymn, "Wer will, der trägt sich todt." These words went home to the heart of the young man, and the hymn made an indelible impression on his mind. At another time late in life he ascended the Strasburg cathedral. When he was at the top he had to sit down on account of giddiness. The guide to the tower said, "What, so far up and yet not up. That would be a shame." He looked and saw that only a few steps remained. Then the words "Nur noch ein wenig Muth," (A little more courage) came to him. How shameful he thought it would be if one had gone a long way to eternity, but at last did not reach the goal.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION II.

THE HASENKAMP BROTHERS.

During the latter part of the last century three brothers exerted a wide influence for orthodoxy and Pietism. The Hasenkamp family were almost as important in the Reformed Church history of the last century, as the Krummacher family was in this century. "They were," says Goebel, "a clover of brothers, a tre-foil." These three brothers in the darkest part of the eighteenth century without fear upheld the truth. They were born under the straw roof of a farmer's house in Tecklenberg.

John G. Hasenkamp, the oldest brother, was born July 12, 1736. When he was ten years old, a great revival swept over his native land, which awakened him. He attended the university of Lingon, 1753-55, where he distinguished himself by his eager thirst for knowledge and his zeal for evangelization, which led to his arrest several times for preaching without a preacher's license. He was suspended from the ministry because of so-called heterodoxy, which consisted mainly of doing evangelistic work without the license of a minister. He went in 1761 to Breslau, with the ambitious hope of converting Frederick the Great. He found, to his great disappointment,

that he was not able to do this. So from the height of an exalted hope he sank to the depth of great depression. After a severe struggle, however, he arose out of this despair. He returned to the Rhine region as a private teacher. And, as court preachers Sack and Hecker mediated in his behalf, he was again admitted to the ministry in 1766. He was appointed rector of the gymnasium at Duisburg, and assistant pastor of the Reformed congregation there. He labored there during the last eleven years of his life in building up the gymnasium. His greatest influence, however, was by his testimony for evangelical Christianity in that age of Rationalism. He joined himself to Tersteegen, and also became a follower of Collenbusch. He died of consumption in 1777, with the shout of victory, "hallelujah," on his lips.

His half-brother, Frederick Arnold, was born January 11, 1747, and became his successor as rector of the gymnasium at Duisburg. He continued his brother's blessed influence on the students of the university against Rationalism. His brother's rectorate and his own at Duisburg covered thirty years. They were, therefore, very useful witnesses for the truth in that age of error. He boldly attacked the neology of the Duisburg university, and wrote against Semler. Another brother was pastor of the mountain parish at Dahle, in Mark, for thirty-five years. These three brothers together exerted a wide influence against Rationalism.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION III.

MATTHEW JORISSEN.

He was born October 26, 1739, at Wesel. He attended the gymnasium there and after severe struggles decided to enter the ministry by the advice of his cousin, Tersteegen. In 1759 he attended the university at Duisburg, where he joined himself to a circle of gifted and pious men. He finished his studies at Utrecht, and remained in sympathy and correspondence with Tersteegen all this period. In 1765 he returned to Wesel, where he was a private teacher three years, and became an adherent of the views of Hasenkamp and Collenbusch.*

In 1768 there appeared in Wesel a rationalistic work, which satirized the leading doctrines of the Bible. It created a tremendous excitement, even the school children reading it. Jorissen, although only a candidate for the ministry, came out against it. Rationalism can persecute, as well as Romanism. We see in what followed, the persecution of Rationalism, for liberals are of all men the most illiberal. Jorissen preached an eloquent sermon against this book on February 28, 1768, in the Matena church on Proverbs 3 : 34, "Surely he scorneth the scorners, but giveth grace to the lowly." Jorissen closed with

the words, "Since my Creator has made me a man, it is my solemn duty, with all I am and have, to contend for the honor of His name and Word. And this I will do as long as blood flows in my veins." For this the upper commandant of the city, Gaudi, who had been a party to the publication of the book, made a complaint against Jorissen to the magistrates, who out of fear for Gaudi denounced Jorissen before the State authorities of Cleve. These in turn forbade Jorissen to preach any more until he would confess his error and promise not to indulge in any such extravagances again. The enemies of Jorissen celebrated this victory of free thought by a sleighing party. (But Gaudi died afterward of apoplexy, after reviewing troops on Ascension Day. And his last words most profanely were, "Your Jesus went to-day to heaven, but I will go with you to the devil." His death was greeted with joy by the people.) Jorissen refused to make an apology for denouncing the enemies of the Bible. He therefore went to Holland, where he became pastor of the German church at the Hague for thirty-seven years, until 1819. While there the poetical genius of Terstee-gen again appeared in him, and he published his metrical translation of the Psalms in 1806. The old version of the Psalms by Lobwasser, which had been in use among the Reformed, had become antiquated, so that his version was gladly received and was introduced into the Reformed church at Elberfeld.

The following beautiful illustration is told by Rev. Mr. Bergfried, who heard it from his lips. One day, when living at Wesel, he had been visiting his members. He returned late in the evening to his sleeping room with the intention of retiring. When he began undressing himself, he thought he heard a voice distinctly saying to him, "Jorissen, go to Mrs. N. N. and tell her, 'This covenant is not valid. My covenant is eternal.'" He thought he had been deceived, and therefore proceeded with his preparation to go to bed. But again he heard the same voice and the same words. He thought within himself, "What shall I do, it is too late to go there," and so he blew out his light and laid down. But the third time he heard the words, louder than before. He, therefore, concluded to get up and go. He dressed himself again and walked to her home. When he arrived there, he asked to be admitted, but the servant told him that her mistress would see no one. He requested her to go up and ask her mistress, whether she would not admit him. And he followed the servant as she went in. When he came to the door of the lady's room, he threw it open, and exclaimed with a loud voice: "This covenant is not valid. My covenant is eternal." He then entered her room, and found her in the greatest state of despair, having a rope in her hand, with the intention of hanging herself. He asked the reason for this, and she with tears told him the following—that the previous night some one

had come to her bed and said to her : " You have served me now for so many years, I would like to possess you altogether. Open a vein of your arm, and write your name with your blood on a piece of paper, stating that you will belong to me in life and death." When she had done this, she was told : " Now conclude this compact by taking a rope and ending your life." She had brooded over this the whole of that day, and on that evening she was about obeying it by killing herself. But God had intended otherwise, for He sent Jorissen late in the night to prevent her from executing this plan of Satan. Jorissen took the rope from her, went to the table on which her oath, written in her blood, was still lying. He tore it into shreds, and spoke again those mysterious words that had come to him : " This covenant is not valid. My covenant is an eternal covenant." Now these strange words were explained. The devil's covenant was not valid, but God's is eternal. The woman was overcome with emotion. And the spell, under which she had been laboring, was broken ; for she answered him : " Indeed, God is faithful, and His covenant is everlasting." After a prayer Jorissen left her and went home, thanking God that he had been permitted to be the instrument in saving an immortal soul. He died January 13, 1823. His characteristics were " clearness and vigor of intellect, warmth of affection and solidity of judgment."

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION IV.

JUNG STILLING.

Out of this Rhine region came a genius who exerted a wide influence on the literary world for the old faith, John Henry Jung Stilling. He was born in Nassau Siegen on September 12, 1740. Siegen had been overrun by Rationalism for about half a century. Otterbein, the old Reformed pastor at Burbach, who died 1800, complained bitterly that after his death, the Heidelberg Catechism would no longer be used by his congregation. Rationalism was generally forced on congregations by the civil authorities who had control of the Church. And yet, as in the days of Ahab, there were seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal, among them Stilling. His mother died young, and his father joined one of the little Christian circles that kept piety alive. John Henry attended a Latin school and wanted to become a minister, but his poverty prevented. Providence, however, placed him in a sphere, in which he exerted a wider influence than perhaps he would have done, had he entered the ministry. He learned the tailors' trade with his father, but his mind soared above the needle. By studying at odd intervals, he acquired geography, mathematics, Greek,

Hebrew, and in a few weeks French. He then became private teacher to a merchant at Rade, where he learned the sciences of agriculture and economics. Here a Romish priest confided to him an eye cure, which revolutionized his life.* Through it he cured a rich patient, Heyder of Ronsdorf, whose daughter he married. By her aid and the help of his friends he managed to go to the university of Strasburg, where he was granted a physician's diploma in 1771, having gained it by the greatest diligence in a single year.

His stay at the university brought him into contact with Herder and Goethe, who afterwards brought him to public notice. He always remained a Pietist, although his former brethren declared he was one no longer, because he wore a periwig and a cravat, and powdered his hair. But he had learned that true Pietism consisted in something more than outward dress. He then located at Elberfeld, where, although he had many patients, yet he did not succeed financially. But he happened to succeed in literature better than in medicine, for he had written an autobiography, with which Goethe was so pleased that he published it for him, and it gave Stilling fame all over Germany. It was a beautiful union of fact and fancy, poetry and reality, truth and fiction, and all permeated with the most supreme faith in God. In it he

* Eye doctors were scarce in those days, as that was before the days of specialists in medicine.

gives many illustrations of deliverances granted him by God. Thus, when he arrived at Strasburg, he had only a dollar in money. He laid his case before the heavenly Father in prayer. Just then he met a merchant from his home at Frankford, who asked him: "Where do you get money to study?" He replied: "I have a rich Father in heaven." "How much money have you?" the friend asked. "One dollar." "Well, I am one of the Lord's stewards," and he handed Stilling thirty-three dollars. Stilling had been in Strasburg but a short time, when these thirty-three dollars were reduced again to one. Again he prayed most earnestly, and, lo, his room-mate came with thirty dollars in gold. A few months after this the time arrived, when he must either pay the lecturer's fee, or have his name stricken off the lecturer's list of students. The money must be paid by six o'clock, Thursday evening. He spent the day in prayer. Five o'clock came, and still there was no money. His anxiety made him break out into a perspiration, and his face was wet with tears. A knock. It was the gentleman, from whom he rented the room, who asked him how much money he had left. He told him. (Stilling felt like Habakkuk, when the angel took him by the hair of his head to carry him to Babylon). The gentleman returned with forty dollars in gold, which was just enough to enable him to pay his debt to the university and continue his studies. He held that prayer was the secret of suc-

cess. His childlike faith in God was a wonder to the sneering infidelity of his day. Goethe says: "This strange man thinks he needs but throw the dice, and our Lord God must place the stones for him." His life of faith was the best practical answer to infidelity, for infidelity was powerless to answer it.

The publication of this book helped him in his straightened circumstances at Elberfeld, and called attention to his genius. He was appointed in 1778 to a professorship of economy and finance in the new academy at Kaiserlautern, and in 1787 to a professorship in the university of Heidelberg. He was then called to Marburg, as professor of finance. But his devotional writings and his eye cures brought him greater fame than his lectures on finance. He had not the hard sense necessary to treat that science, for he was a poetical, mystical, imaginative genius. His classes sometimes numbered only three, although he treated more than two thousand blind persons in his life. As he found the writing of religious works more congenial to his taste, he accepted a call from the Elector of Baden to become his private councilor. The Elector had been charmed by his work "Homesickness," and appointed him to be his companion. He removed in 1803 to Heidelberg, and in 1806 to Karlsruhe. He now had time to study Madame Guyon and the mystics. His correspondence became immense; his journeys became frequent. His house was visited by

many friends, and seemed to be a "Holiest of Holies," where all ordinary things seemed put aside. He busied himself with evangelical (especially apocryphal) works based on Bengel. His greatest work was his "History of the Victory of the Christian Religion" (an exposition of the book of Revelation), and his "Theory of Spirit Law," based partly on Swedenborg. His "Homesickness," or scenes in the kingdom of spirits, and his romances or mystical tales, as "The Life of Sir Morning Dew," gave him great fame. His "Theobald, the Fanatic" reveals his pietistic tendencies. He wrote polemical works against Rationalism, as "The Great Panacea Against the Sickness of Infidelity," but they did not exert the influence of his "Autobiography." "Most of his writings will be long forgotten, but his life will be read. It was a wanderer's life, in which the most beautiful point is the Father's house, from which it proceeded, and the Father's house which his pilgrimage sought. 'Blessed are they that are homesick, for they shall come home.' Thousands are comforted by his wandering life through places and professions." Like Antoine Court, the wandering preacher of the desert during the persecutions of the French Reformed Church, so Stilling was a preacher in the desert of Rationalism of the eighteenth century of Germany. He died April 2, 1817, saying: "Lord, receive my spirit."

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION V.

JOHN CHRISTIAN STABLSCHMIDT.

He was born in Nassau Siegen, March 3, 1740. He early manifested a great desire to know everything, and his first money he spent in buying maps. But as a youth he was inclined to be wild and extravagant, yet he was early awakened to serious things. His first solemn impressions came from the reading of the story of Joseph in school. He wept over Joseph and said he could not comprehend how brothers could treat a brother so. When he came to the glorious end of the history, he was so impressed that he determined to become a good man.

When he was eighteen years of age, after he had spent more than half the night in frivolity, and returned to his chamber, he had a terrible dream. He thought the end of the world had come. He heard a strange noise, and lo ! as he looked around, he found himself in the midst of a great multitude of men moving on to be judged. Terror seized him as he said, "Now the day of grace is past, and there is no mercy for me." He saw the Judge on the throne who beckoned him to come near. He fell on his face and cried, "Mercy, I will lead a better life." This awoke him from sleep. The dream led him to become

more serious, and some months after the exhortations of his uncle led him to form an unchangeable resolution to give himself wholly to God. Through this uncle, who was a great admirer of Boehme, he inclined to Separatism. His father, who was an elder in the Reformed Church, treated him very severely for this, even whipping him when he was nineteen years of age, and exhorting him to promise that he would not any more read the books of the Pietists or attend their meetings. He made this promise, but the next day he was miserable about it, for it seemed as if all his pleasures were gone, because he could not read Pietistic books or attend Pietistic meetings. As he thus considered the matter, the thought came to him of leaving father and mother. On the following Sunday he secretly packed his clothing, engaged in earnest prayer and wrote a letter to his father saying, "that he had made a vow to him that he could not keep, so he had resolved to go away," and left it on the table. When the watchman cried "twelve o'clock," he went away through the rear of the house, and the next morning arrived at Cologne, which he left before his father could follow him. At Amsterdam were printed the mystical books he had so gladly read and for which he had suffered so much; but only after a long search was he able to find the works of Bœhme, which, with his Bible, constituted his only books. These he took with him on his voyages to the East Indies. On his return the vessel was struck by lightning, two

sailors killed and others stunned, and the ship set on fire by it. Death seemed to stare them in the face. They finally succeeded in arresting the fire. The sailors who had been killed were the most profane on the ship, and he looked on it as a just judgment of God on them for their wickedness, more especially as there were eight sailors between those who were struck, and yet they were the only ones killed. After another voyage to India he again visited his home in 1765. He now found his father friendly. While there the devotional writings of Tersteegen fell into his hand. He became so interested in them that he visited Tersteegen in 1766, and a second time the next year.

But he was dissatisfied with his business, the manufacture of lace strings, as it was not conducive to growth in piety. He therefore started for America and arrived at Philadelphia in August, 1770. A few days after he arrived, the schoolmaster of the First Reformed church of Philadelphia, who knew his family, took a kindly interest in him. Rev. Dr. Weyberg, the pastor of the church, soon discovered his talents and urged him to study for the ministry. He studied under him, and he was licensed by the Reformed Coetus. After preaching in various Reformed congregations, he was licensed at Reading and ordained as pastor of the York charge in 1775. But as he was a strong patriot, he found in those days, when the Revolution was breaking out, his position unpleasant, because

some of his members favored the British and some the patriots. So after a four years' pastorate he returned to Germany. On his voyage he was almost shipwrecked, but finally arrived at his home in Germany. His ministry is another link between the Reformed of America and the Pietists of Germany. It also reveals Rev. Dr. Weyberg's position in favor of positive, evangelical, earnest Christianity. If Pietists were un-Reformed, why was Stahl Schmidt received into the ministry of our early Reformed Church? He expected to return to America after the political troubles were over, but circumstances in Siegen had changed since he had gone away. The Pietists in Berg and Siegen missed the leadership of Tersteegen, and many had gone back to worldliness again. Those who remained, begged him not to go back to America, but to stay with them and use his rich spiritual gifts for their benefit. So a minister of our American Reformed Church became the successor of Tersteegen, the Pietist. As Stahl Schmidt did not have a university education, he could not enter the ministry of the State Church of Germany, although a minister of our Church in America, so he became a merchant and a lay worker there. He wrote an account of his life and travels called "The Pilgrimage by Water and Land," published in 1799 at Nuremberg.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION VI.

GOTTFRIED DANIEL KRUMMACHER.

We now come to one of the most interesting families in the Reformed Church, the Krummacher family. Two brothers first appear, Gottfried Daniel and Frederick Adolphus.* Gottfried Daniel was a tower of strength—a perfect Boanerges on the Northern Rhine. He was born April 1, 1774, in Tecklenberg, where his father had suddenly been converted from a worldly and sinful life, and like Tersteegen, wrote his consecration in his own blood. Gottfried attended the University of Duisburg. His early studies led him to doubt the Bible and prayer was largely given up. Still Hasenkamp exerted a blessed influence over him there. In 1798 he was called as pastor to Baerl. His predecessor there had been a Rationalist, and the congregation had complained against him to the Synod. When the president of the Synod appeared and tried to heal matters, the members armed themselves with scythes and hatchets, and garrisoned the church, declaring they would not have their former pastor back again at any price. Before a congregation who were suspicious of the least Rationalism, Gottfried preached his trial sermons.

* Of the latter we will speak in the next Chapter.

After his sermon some of the pietistic Christians in the congregation came together and said of him, "Hear! Out of this little man great things will come." They judged him rightly. He came as pastor, attended by a large number of riders as he entered Baerl, for they always honored the new minister with an escort.

But although he was no longer a Rationalist, yet he was not a Christian of religious experience. The Lord led him to Christ by a peculiar providence. He had hardly arrived in this charge, when he happened one day, while out walking through a small village in his parish, to overhear the singing of a hymn in one of the houses. Pleased with it, he stood still for a moment and then went to the room whence it came. There he found three saints of Israel of his church, who were accustomed to come together to sing, and confer about a verse of Scripture or a question of the Heidelberg Catechism. They greeted him in a most friendly way, and continued discussing that part of our catechism, which teaches of the working of the Holy Spirit in our heart, so as to give assurance. Of this he was as yet ignorant. They then asked him to make a prayer, which he did. As soon as he was done, the oldest of them, like Simeon on Christ, laid his hand on his shoulder, and from an overflowing heart said: "O, pastor, what an office is yours! You are to watch over the sheep Jesus Christ has bought with His own precious blood. O that the Holy

Ghost in richest measure may come upon you and rest on you." He continued in this strain, until the young preacher, deeply affected, stood with tears flowing down his cheeks, while the aged saint kept on speaking, and finally pointed him to the promise of Daniel, that "They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars forever and ever." Krummacher answered not a word. He stood still a moment, and then, bidding them good-day, went sobbing to his house. There on his knees he wept and prayed. He felt himself dead in sin and rejected by God. His anxiety almost took away his breath. Here many long nights he wept. One of the men, who thus brought conviction to his heart, visited him, and as Krummacher told him his sorrow, he laughed for joy. "How can you laugh at my sorrow?" Krummacher asked. "I see," he replied, "for our deeply broken hearts Jesus wants to love," and he went away praising God. While Krummacher was in this condition, he saw a spider spinning its web. He went to it and killed it, but as he did so, the thought came to him: "What hast thou done? Who gives you the right over the life of this insect? How much more a thousandfold wert thou worthy, thou sinful creature, of being trodden under foot!" Broken-hearted he ascended the pulpit. Most wonderfully he preached the law, and many were convicted of sin. Thus Krummacher was converted, and also baptized with the power of the Holy Ghost.

In 1801 he was called to Wulfrath, near Elberfeld, where he was pastor for fifteen years.* In 1816 he was called to Elberfeld, the most prominent Reformed congregation in Germany that remained orthodox. "What! I, a stammering Moses, to go to Elberfeld," he said. But urged on all sides, he accepted. He, however, realized his responsibility, for he said afterward, "I went to Elberfeld as to my death." Through his preaching a great awakening took place there from 1816 to 1818. Every Sunday the churches were filled back to the last seats with seeking souls, and the great question was, "What must I do to be saved?" Some of them formed circles for the study of the Bible and met at the house of Dieterich. They held prayer meetings in which each took part by a question or an explanation or a testimony.†

There also arose in this congregation some who looked on his orthodoxy with suspicion. They misunderstood his use of the word grace, and thought by it he always

* There he once called on a very hot summer day on a sick man, who complained that he had been very greatly annoyed by blasphemous thoughts, which gave him no rest. Krummacher knew not how to comfort him, but, wiping his face of perspiration, he said: "How many flies the summer gives us!" After endeavoring to comfort the sick man, he went away. Some time after he again visited the sick man, and was surprised to find how joyful he was. The man said, "O pastor, you left a little word with me the last time that changed my life." "What was it." You said, "How many flies there were." After you had gone it occurred to me that my blasphemous thoughts were nothing but flies, and as summer passed away, and with it the flies, so my temptations would pass away.

† For proof of this see "Lives of Friends of the Y. M. C. A.," by Rev. Charles Krummacher, pages 5 and 11.

meant election of grace, and that he emphasized election too much, so as to become antinomian. Complaint was brought against him before the Synod, and he had to preach before its president a sermon on Romans 6 : 12. But he proved that he was orthodox on this text and not antinomian, and he was acquitted.* His bold, blunt preaching dealt telling blows against the Rationalists. He was in doctrine a Cocceian, but at Elberfeld he made predestination as prominent as it had been made at the Synod of Dort. He died January 30, 1837. His last words were : " I will, yes I must hold the fort"—"A mighty fortress is our God."

* On one occasion as he was preaching a course of sermons on the Wanderings of the Children of Israel, it was told him that the Crown Prince of Germany would attend his service. He refused, however, to change his subject even for the Crown Prince, but replied that the Crown Prince might go over the Red Sea with them. The Prince attended, and expressed himself well pleased with the sermon.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION VII.

FREDERICK WILLIAM KRUMMACHER.

The greatest of all the Krummachers was Frederick William, a son of Frederick Adolphus. He was one of the most finished orators of this century, and became the great court preacher of Prussia. He was born at Meurs, January 28, 1796, where Tersteegen was born a century before. He studied at Halle and Jena universities. To save himself from spiritual starvation there, he read Herder's "Spirit of Hebrew Poetry," "Schleiermacher's Addresses," together with the works of the church fathers and of Luther. During all this time he was rather an aesthetic Christian like Herder, than a thorough Evangelical. He was called as assistant pastor of the German Reformed church at Frankford in 1819. He names Frankford as his spiritual birthplace, where he was led to know Christ by such spiritually-minded friends as his colleague, Manuel. In 1825 he was called to Ruhrort, opposite Baerl. When he entered the charge, he was received like a Prince with firing of guns and huzzaing of the people, the vessel on which he came being decorated with flags as the whole congregation assembled to receive their pastor. This pastorate he called the May season of

his life. Here he came in contact with the rich spiritual life of the Reformed Church of the northern Rhine.

From Ruhrort he was called to Gemarke near Barmen. When he entered this charge he again met with a royal reception. A long procession of splendid carriages and a troop of stately horsemen escorted him. Here he found more intellectual piety than at Ruhrort, but intensely Calvinistic and devoted to the Heidelberg Catechism. In this centre of religious life he preached on week evenings his famous sermons on Elijah and Elisha, and also on the Song of Solomon. These gave him a wide reputation. His Elijah was translated into seven languages. He himself became a veritable Elijah, to rise up and rebuke Rationalism—the Baalism of his day.

In 1834 the great Reformed church at Elberfeld called him. Here he held a position in the front rank of German ministers. He was an orator of the first rank. He combined depth of thought with gracefulness of rhetoric and an impressive delivery. While pastor here, he was invited to America to become professor of the German Reformed Theological Seminary at Mercersburg, Pa., an honor which he declined, but recommended Rev. Dr. Phillip Schaff in his place.

The King of Prussia, who had once heard him preach at Elberfeld, called him to Berlin in 1847, to be the successor of Marheineke at the Trinity church. The King wanted a bold champion of the old faith to offset the Ration-

alism at Berlin. Krummacher was chosen, for he with his father and uncle was one of the few uncompromising witnesses of evangelical truth of which Germany could boast. Just before that time he had preached a sermon in his father's church at Bremen against Rationalism which had caused a great commotion. His text had been, "But though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel than that which we have preached, let him be accursed." Gal. 1 : 8-9. In his zeal against those whom he called "the prophets of Baal of this century," he pronounced the apostle's curse on the whole anti-Christian spirit of this age. The sermon led the majority of the orthodox clergy of Bremen to adopt an orthodox confession, so as to prevent Rationalists from entering their pulpit. He was therefore the man to bear witness for the truth in Berlin. The Rationalists there of course gave him a frigid reception. His congregation was at first made up mainly of women, and he often looked back with longing to the warmth and sympathy he had had in the Wupperthal. Soon however his church began to fill up, as Christians of various ranks began to attend his services. When the revolution of 1840 broke out, he urged Home Missions as the panacea for all social evils. He labored to form the Church Diet, and was one of its committee.

In 1853 the King appointed him court preacher at Potsdam. Here he found barren soil, but his tact and ability soon built up a strong congregation. He here preached his famous sermons on David the King. He

took an active interest in the Evangelical Alliance, and contributed greatly to the success of its meeting at Berlin in 1857. He attended the different conferences of the Alliance until his death. From its meeting in Paris he wrote: "In Paris I became young again like an eagle. It was the kingdom of heaven in blessed concentration." Like Elijah, of whom he had preached so eloquently, he had his ascension to heaven on December 10, 1868. He was a poet, as well as a preacher, and wrote some hymns. The best are: "Behalte mich in deiner Pflege," in the third volume of his *Elisha*, "Als das grosse Halljahr bricht herein," and "Der vom Holze du regierest," "Du Stern in allen Nächten."

He was a rare combination of qualities, fitting him to become the leading preacher of his age and land. At the eightieth birthday of Gœthe, Thorwaldsen, the great sculptor, met him at Frankford and was attracted by his noble forehead and appearance, and asked him: "Are you an artist?" "No, a theologian," was his reply. "How can one be only a theologian?" said Thorwaldsen. And yet Krummacher, who carved eternal ideas in souls, as Thorwaldsen had in stone, was an artist of the first rank, greater than that sculptor with all his gems of thought in marble. "In his pulpit," says Schaff, "he was bold and fearless as a lion, at home as gentle and amiable as a lamb—a millionaire in images and illustrations, which were an embarrassment of riches in his sermons, like Jeremy Taylor's."

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION VIII.

HERMAN F. KOHLBRUEGGE.

Another great leader of Pictism and opponent of Rationalism was Kohlbrügge. He was one of the strongest intellects in the Reformed Church of Germany in this century—the only one who formed a distinct school of theology. He was born August 15, 1803, at Amsterdam. It was his grandmother whose influence developed the spirituality of the boy. In her house there was a large fireside which was covered with a painted pavement. On these were Biblical pictures, and the boy would, like Doddridge, sit by the hours before them, and have them explained by his grandmother. He early revealed great precocity, but his studies were interrupted by sickness and poverty, which compelled him to work. When sixteen, he again began regular study. But at the university of Amsterdam he became so immersed in classical studies, that his Bible lost its power. Then came the sickness and death of his father as a call to bring him back to the old faith. He then entered the ministry of the Lutheran Church. He preached at Loenen near Amsterdam, and with burning eloquence proclaimed the old doctrines of man's fall and God's grace. But such preaching roused

opposition, for the wealthy and noble, who usually were in the consistory, had gone over to Rationalism, and one of his co-pastors bitterly denied the old faith. So he was dismissed after three months service. But although persecuted for God's sake, he was wonderfully blessed. He then married a lady of means who belonged to this congregation. As he had no parish, he began anew the study of church history and theology. The study of Calvin led him to accept Predestination, and of Olevianus to receive the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Since he was no longer Lutheran in faith, he sought admission to the Reformed Church of Holland. But that Church, alas, was deeply sunk in Rationalism too, and although negotiations continued from 1830 to 1832, they refused to receive him on the mere technicality that they desired a certificate of morals, which the Lutherans refused to give. How sadly does Rationalism persecute God's servants. The church in which he was born rejected him, and the Church whose doctrine he now believed refused him. But he was not without friends, for the leaders of the revival in Holland were his warm friends, and he attended their conventicles. They wanted him to join their Church and become a leader among those who had thus separated from the State Church. But just then the death of his wife brought him ill health and his physician ordered him to travel. So he happened in the providence of God to come to Elberfeld in the summer of 1833.

Here he found a district that Rationalism had not entered. The best and richest families considered it the highest honor to have some position in the Church. The churches were filled with people, and in smaller circles many would gather to talk over the sermon. Hymns were often heard in the homes and the factories. And in many a hut, where the weaver's chair allowed hardly room to sit, they knew how to talk about the grace of God. Although cast out by the Dutch, he was received with honor here, and preached sixteen times. A great awakening had taken place at Elberfeld under the preaching of G. D. Krummacher. There was, however, a difference between Krummacher's and Kohlbrügge's preaching. Krummacher emphasized the law and conviction of sin. Kohlbrügge emphasized the forgiving grace of God. His friends were so pleased with him that they tried to have him enter the ministry of the Reformed Church of that province, so that he might be appointed to a vacant church near Elberfeld. But the Prussian minister of worship, fearing Kohlbrügge's opposition to the union of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches and to the introduction of the Prussian liturgy, refused and forbade him to preach any more in any pulpit in the Rhine provinces. Rejected now the third time by the Church, he returned to Holland, but kept up a correspondence with his friends at Elberfeld. He was asked by those, who separated from the State Church in Holland in 1839, and formed

the Christian Reformed Church, to join them. But he declined, because he did not want to belong to what he considered a separatistic Church. When he was called to Elberfeld as pastor in 1848, Kohlbrügge continued as a mighty witness for the old Reformed faith. His published sermons gave him a wide influence. They were translated into English and Bohemian. He died at Elberfeld, March 5, 1837, after a pastorate there of thirty-seven years.

CHAPTER IV.—SECTION IX.

PRESENT PIETISTIC MOVEMENTS.

The Reformed Church of Germany still reveals its Pietistic position. This is shown by the fact that a year or two ago the Johanneum was removed from Bonn to Elberfeld. This institution was a school for evangelists, founded by the late Professor Christlieb in 1886. For Christlieb felt that the best antidote for Rationalism was earnest Pietism. Its aim was to prepare city missionaries and evangelists, who would produce a revival in the churches of Germany. After Professor Christlieb's death it was found that it was not located where its supporters were. So Reformed Elberfeld was chosen as above all others the place in fullest sympathy with such evangelistic movements. If now the Reformed of Germany were not in sympathy with such aggressive movements, why was it located there? Its removal to Elberfeld, the centre of the Reformed Church of Germany to-day, is a striking proof of the pietistic character of the Reformed Church.

Another very significant sign are the catechism prayer meetings held at Barmen and Meurs, where the laity come together. After selecting an answer and a question

of our catechism, they talk it over, intermingling their conversation with prayer and singing.*

That this evangelistic spirit has spread into other parts of the Reformed Church of Germany, is shown by the following extract taken from a German religious paper a few years ago :

"The Rev. E. Schrenk, of Marburg, formerly a foreign missionary and more recently connected with the Berne Evangelical Reformed Society in Switzerland, has given himself to evangelical work in Germany. He works wholly within the Church. He was called to Cassel in Hesse last winter by thirteen clergymen and members of the Royal Consistory, and held two services a day for eighteen days. The great Martin church (Reformed) was filled, and afterward a still larger Lutheran church. The daily morning Bible readings filled to repletion the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association, and had to be moved to the Bruder church. The evening evangelistic services were often attended by about three thousand persons. Two thousand men, and young men, attended a separate meeting for men only. On the last evening three

* We have just received a letter from Barmen, describing such a meeting. The meetings take place every two weeks on Sunday evening at six o'clock. Only men are present. The meeting is opened by the singing of a Psalm, then a chapter of the Old Testament is read. (The Old Testament is read consecutively in each meeting). The senior member present requests one to lead in prayer. Then follows the consideration of the Heidelberg Catechism, of which at each meeting one question is taken up and discussed. The questions are taken up consecutively. In this discussion each one of the members may take part in a free and unrestrained manner. These meetings result in great blessing for the everyday life. The meeting is closed at eight o'clock, and after the singing of a hymn, prayer and the reading of another passage of Scripture suitable to the subject of the discussion, they separate with the joyful consciousness of having spent a few blessed hours, sanctified through the Spirit of God, in brotherly communion.

of the city clergy took part in the service ; eleven ministers signed a letter of thanks to him ; and the secular papers spoke in high terms of his good labors."

Thus the Reformed Church of the Northern Rhine has ever been and still is a noble witness against all Rationalism, and by her Pietism and evangelization a tremendous power for the upbuilding of God's kingdom in the fatherland.

CHAPTER V.
**INDIVIDUAL ANSWERS TO RATIONALISM IN
OTHER PARTS OF GERMANY.**

Not only from the Reformed region of the Northern Rhine were voices lifted up against Rationalism. In the Reformed churches in other parts of Germany a bold testimony was borne against it. One of the most prominent Reformed strongholds in Germany was Bremen. Although Rationalism gained control here in the latter part of the last century, yet Menken, led a mighty movement against it, which resulted in turning the city toward orthodoxy. We have already described Menken, and will now mention several others who aided him.

SECTION I.

GEORGE GOTTFRIED TREVIRANUS.

He was born at Bremen, January 12, 1788. His family was originally from Treves, but had been driven out with Olevianus. His great-grandfather had been Lampe's successor as pastor at St. Stephen's church at Bremen. He was catechized by a rationalistic pastor in 1802 and attended the gymnasium there, where he seems to have read everything but the Bible, of which he did

not have a German copy. He then attended Göttingen university, which was full of Rationalism. One day, however, a strange desire came to him to get a German Bible, as he remembered once hearing Menken preach a sermon praising its beauties. He then began to read it regularly with the prayer, "Lord, open Thou mine eyes." When he preached before his professor of homiletics, the latter found fault with him for being too Biblical. And when he went to the pastor at Göttingen, to tell him that he wished to commune with his congregation, the pastor replied, "You are the first student in a long series of years that has communed." Thus through the reading of the Bible he was changed into an evangelical Christian. He then studied at Tübingen, which was orthodox, and there he learned to still more highly honor the Bible, as many of his doubts were being scattered. On May 1, 1811, he was ordained in the Liebfrau church at Bremen. When the minister's hand was laid on his head, he was so overcome that he did not hear his benediction. Only Menken's words came to him, "Love Christ, for He first loved you."

He became pastor at a church near Bremen, but was called to Bremen in 1818, as pastor of St. Martin's church, and assistant to Menken. Although not so profound as Menken, yet he excelled especially in the practical activities of the ministry. He was secretary of the Bremen Bible Society, and started a Sunday school in 1834. He

became active also in the society for released convicts. For, one Sunday evening, a soldier, who was a drunkard, visited him. Through Treviranus' efforts he was saved from drink by the grace of God. He in turn brought another officer to him who desired to know Christ. As the latter became sick, Treviranus visited him frequently, and preached his funeral sermon. These incidents led him to begin his work among the soldiers, so that he was finally appointed garrison chaplain, as the soldiers had no one to look after their religious interests before. He retained this position till 1849. He also founded a society to aid emigration to America, as his friend Wyncken was pastor at Fort Wayne, Indiana. He was one of the first to aid in organizing a branch society for Home Missions, and then started evening services (a custom till then unknown in Bremen). He was made president of the North German Missionary Society. He was greatly encouraged to find that the number of evangelical pastors in Bremen was increasing, as Mallet, Krummacher, Iken and others came in to aid him. In the autumn of 1866, he ascended his pulpit in the St. Martin's church for the last time, as he was made pastor emeritus. The congregation elected Schwalb as his successor, who soon revealed himself as a most blatant Rationalist, and who, on account of this, was finally compelled to resign last year. He therefore did not attend his former church any more, but went to St. Stephen's church, while the orthodox elements

of his congregation scattered among the other churches. He still retained his interest in missions until his death in 1868. He was a man of great faith and wisdom, and circumspection, and full of practical gifts. It was at his house that Rev. Dr. Schaff found the first edition of the Heidelberg Catechism in 1864. This was a valuable discovery, as all the previous translations of the catechism had been made after the third edition.

CHAPTER V.—SECTION II.

FREDERICK ADOLPH KRUMMACHER.

He was a member of the famous Krummacher family, of whom we have already spoken—a brother of Gottfried Daniel and father of Frederick William. He was born in Tecklenburg, July 13, 1787, and attended the small Reformed university of Lingen. Then he went to Halle, where he studied under the pious Knapp and the blasphemous Bahrdt. After that he became rector of the gymnasium at Hamm in 1790, where he became intimate with two Reformed ministers, who afterwards became prominent in Prussia, Snethlage and Eylert. He was called as professor of theology to the university at Duisburg. But the university was small, and the professor could count himself fortunate if he had four or five students. Here he wrote his "Parables," which gave him a wide reputation. (To distinguish him from the other members of his famous family, he was generally called Parable-Krummacher.) As an illustration of them, we give his beautiful parable of Death and Sleep: "The Angel of Death and the Angel of Sleep wandered in fraternal unity over the world. It was evening. They rested on a hill, not far from the habitations of man. A placid calmness prevailed everywhere, even the sound of the

curfew ceased in the distant hamlet. Calmly and silently, as is their wont, the two beneficent angels of mankind held each other embraced until night approached. Then the Angel of Sleep arose from his mossy seat and strewed with noiseless hands the invisible seeds of slumber. The evening breeze carried them to the quiet dwellings of the tired country people, and sweet sleep descended on the dwellers in their rural huts, from the old man with his crutch, to the babe in the cradle. The sick once more forgot their pains, the troubled soul her grief, and poverty her cares; for every eye was closed. Now his task being done, the beneficent Angel of Sleep returned to his graver brother. "When the light of morning arises," he exclaimed with innocent joy, "then mankind will praise me as their friend and benefactor. What a blessing to do good in secret! How happy are we, the invisible messengers of the Good Spirit! How beautiful our silent calling!"

"The Angel of Death gazed at him with a look of soft melancholy, and a tear, such as immortal beings shed, glistened in his large dark eyes. "Alas, said he, "would that I could enjoy cheerful gratitude like thee. The world calls me her enemy and disturber." "O, my brother," replied the Angel of Sleep, "will not at the awakening, the good man acknowledge thee as his friend and benefactor, and gratefully bless thee? Are we not brethren and messengers of one Father?" When he thus spoke, the eye of the Angel of Death glistened brightly, and the fraternal spirits embraced with renewed tender-

ness." These parables were such simple, quaint allegories, based on the teachings of nature and the stories of Scripture, that they became classic in Germany.

The university of Duisburg went down under the French rule. So he accepted a call to Bernburg, where he became superintendent of the Reformed church. While here, there occurred an awakening, which affected him and changed him from being an æsthetic Christian of the Herder school to an earnest, outspoken Christian against Rationalism. The King of Prussia offered him a professorship of theology at the newly founded university of Bonn, but owing to a severe affection of the eyes at the time, he did not accept it. When the union of the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches was introduced into Anhalt in 1824, he opposed it. The Duke of Anhalt then became cool to him on account of his leanings toward Pietism and his opposition to the union. So he was glad to accept a call to be one of the pastors of the St. Ans-gari church at Bremen. Here he was highly respected by the people, and received the name from them of "the little father." He was not the orator that his colleague Dräseke was, but he gained great influence by his pastoral labors and his peculiar influence over the young. He died April 4, 1845, after being pastor there for nineteen years. He was a scholarly man, of thoughtful, poetical nature. He was the author of a number of excellent hymns, as the missionary hymn, "Eine Heerde und ein Hirt"—"One Shepherd and one Fold to be."

CHAPTER V.—SECTION III.

FREDERICK L. MALLET.

A mighty witness for God against Rationalism at Bremen was Mallet. He was born August 4, 1792, at Braunfels, where his father, a Huguenot by descent, was secretary to the Count of Solms. His pastor, Herman Muller, noticed the uncommon talents of the ten-year-old boy, and when Mallet's father died, he cared for him as a father. When Muller was called to the St. Stephen's church, Bremen, he took young Mallet with him. It was Muller's piety that awakened piety in the young man. He was sent to the universities of Herborn and Tubingen, where as yet a young man could study without any danger of Rationalism. Both professors and students held prayer meetings at Tubingen. He did not, therefore, have to pass through the great conflicts of soul that Menken and others did in the university.

In 1815 he became assistant pastor at St. Michal's, a suburb of Bremen. His ability as an orator soon led to a call in 1827 to St. Stephen's in Bremen, where he became assistant to his foster-father Muller, and when the latter died in 1839, he was elected senior pastor. Here his fine gifts found a suitable field. For he was a

man of fiery eloquence and joyful, enthusiastic faith. He had a fine appearance—"a real Luther-head," as F. W. Krummacher used to say. He endeavored to work against Rationalism by editing a Church paper, the "Bremen Church Messenger," and later the "Bremen Post." These exerted great influence, not only in Bremen, but in the neighboring districts of Oldenburg and Hanover. He had once, when in the university, taken up the sword in war against France, and he now took up the spiritual sword against the Rationalists. Hamburg was burned in 1844, and he preached a penitential sermon on it, which led Stahr of Oldenburg to protest against it in the name of humanity. In 1844, when Nagel, one of the pastors at Bremen, declared in a daily paper that it was now proved that there was neither a heaven nor a hell, Mallet brought the matter before the Ministerium. But Nagel appealed to the Senate, where he was protected. Meanwhile there arose a literary strife about it. Stahr and an Oldenburg literateur, Kobbe, joined in the attack on Mallet. He wrote a biting satire on them, revealing Rationalism's weakness. And in a number of other writings he boldly attacked Rationalism. Thus he became unpopular with many, and had to bear much ridicule. He was impersonated at one of the theatres, to the great amusement of the populace and the joy of his enemies. His greatest conflict took place in 1848, when Bremen changed its politics and Dulon was elected pastor in the

Liebfrau church—a man pantheistic in theology and revolutionary in politics. Dulon's sermons against property owners and nobles soon caused a sensation. Mallet wrote against him, and when Dulon tried to get influence in Mallet's congregation, so as to work against Mallet, he boldly attacked him in pamphlets. Dulon's conduct toward him in the Ministerium was so severe, that he declared he would leave that body, but the Senate would not accept his resignation. Then came the return tide in politics in 1852, when Dulon was dismissed. This controversy led Mallet to prepare a petition from the Ministerium to the Senate, asking that the Bremen church might be guaranteed its safety in the future from such adventurers in theology. But the indifference of the rulers prevented this from being carried out. He, however, succeeded in having an orthodox creed drawn up for his own church, so as to prevent any Rationalists from getting in there. He also aimed to oppose Rationalism by developing the practical activities of the church. He was one of the founders of the North German Missionary Society in 1819, and had a Home Missionary Society in his own congregation. He was one of the presidents of the Bremen Tract Society in 1826. He was the founder of the first Young Men's Christian Association in Germany in 1834. The first Y. M. C. A. was founded at Basle in 1768 (seventy-six years before George Williams founded his in London), by a Reformed pastor

named Meyenrock. It dissolved when its founder died, about 1820, but was revived again in 1825. Mallet came in contact with it when on a visit to Switzerland in 1833. He at once founded a similar society at Bremen, which was imitated by other places in Germany, so that when George Williams founded his association in England, there were at least seven associations in Germany. In 1841 he had great joy in dedicating the Concordia, a building which was to be the religious centre of Bremen, where the Tract Society, the Sunday school and the Y. M. C. A. societies could have rooms. He endorsed prayer meetings in his Church paper, for he said: "Conventicles are not only allowed, but necessary." He died in 1865. Before he died, he quoted:

"Jesus, Thy blood and righteousness,
My beauty are, my glorious dress."

His last words were: "Christ is my life."

CHAPTER V.—SECTION IV.

JOHN GEIBEL.

There were several other Reformed ministers in the northern part of Germany, who bore witness against Rationalism. The Lutheran superintendent, Zahn, declared that "while the Lutheran Church had gone to sleep on the arms of spiritual death, three Reformed ministers bore their witness for Christ, as the only Savior of a lost world. These three were Menken of Bremen, d'Aubigne of Hamburg, and Geibel of Lubeck." Others might have been mentioned, as Palmis and Roquette at Stettin, and Metgar at Stolp. The life of d'Aubigne, the author of the famous History of the Reformation, does not properly belong to Germany, but to Switzerland. We can but refer to his brief stay of seven years as pastor of the French Reformed church at Hamburg, where he again brought the old forgotten gospel to his congregation. In that most rationalistic of cities he bore his testimony for the truth and exerted a wide influence, especially on the upper classes. Of course the Rationalists bitterly opposed him, but his consistory stood by him. However, when vindicated by them, he resigned and went to Brussels, and afterward to Geneva, where he published his famous history.

Passing still farther along the north coast of Germany, we come to Lubeck. In this most Lutheran of cities a Reformed congregation had been formed in 1666 of French refugees. This French church had become German, and its pastor in this age of Rationalism (1798–1847) was John Geibel. He was born at Hanau, April 1, 1776, and attended the university of Marburg, where he formed a very close friendship for Daub. He came to Lubeck as assistant to Butenbach, who had been a Rationalist. But Geibel, although not yet a thoroughly experimental Christian, soon put new life into the congregation. He was now himself undergoing severe struggles. Daub had influenced him and then Schleiermacher, and even the Plymouth Brethren. Jacoby greatly influenced him (urging him to gain assurance of faith), as did Menken's works. Very earnestly did he study the Bible, until in 1810 he came fully to a positive orthodox position. On the first of January of that year he preached on Acts 4: 12. "There is salvation in none other," he said. He wanted to know nothing but the crucified Christ. From that time Christ and justification by faith became the centre of his life and preaching. The Word of God was to him the rule of faith, and he wanted the whole Word of God, not the pericopes. As all the other Lutheran ministers in Lubeck were at that time Rationalists, many evangelical Lutherans attended his services. He gained great reputation as a pulpit orator.

Many were awakened by his preaching, even ministers, who had never been converted. Through prayer meetings and free conferences of Christians at his home, he increased his spiritual influence. Many strangers came to Lubeck, so as to hear his eloquent witness for the truth, for he was considered one of the most successful champions of Biblical orthodoxy against Rationalism. He aided in founding a tract and missionary society. He issued a new hymn book in 1832, one of the best of its time, and one of the first to replace the rationalistic hymn books that had been so common. His popularity became so great, that on his twenty-fifth anniversary the whole city joined with the congregation in making a present of gold to him. Because he had so many Lutherans coming to his service, he had a new church built within the city. Gradually, however, his audiences lessened. For the novelty of his preaching had passed away. Besides, some of the Lutheran pulpits began to have evangelical preachers, so that many of his Lutheran attendants returned to their own churches. He resigned in 1847, when the Lutheran ministers, as well as his own Presbyterium, presented him with a memorial. He died suddenly, July 23, 1853. He was a faithful witness against Rationalism. When one of his sons was pastor at Brunswick and was opposed by his associate, Petri, and the majority of his congregation, the father came and preached a most powerful sermon against Rationalism on 1 Corinthians

2: 2.* A beautiful illustration in his life is told of the conversion of the missionary Hebich. The latter was a Lutheran, and came to Lubeck prejudiced against the Reformed, but seeking light, for he had not yet been converted. Although shy of the Reformed, he came under the influence of Geibel. Geibel's style of preaching was new to him, but made a deep impression on him, and Geibel's prayers, which were talks with Jesus, were a revelation to him. He was offended at first by such boldness before God, but heard by and by a voice saying to him: "This is that same Jesus, in which thy sins are forgiven." And when Hebich began to feel like going as a foreign missionary, it was to Geibel he went for advice, rather than to the Luthern pastors. Geibel urged him to go. Thus from Geibel Hebich gained the beginnings of his useful life among the heathen. One of Geibel's sons was the famous German poet, Emanuel Geibel.

* The Reformed Confederation of Lower Saxony decided against his son.

CHAPTER V.—SECTION V.

ANHALT AND LIPPE.

These two small Reformed lands in Northern Germany had their struggles and their defenders of the faith. In Anhalt Rationalism entered and gained great power. Bashuysen, the superintendent of Zerbst, went so far as to declare that reason, from which the Reformed had demonstrated their doctrine of the Lord's Supper, was not corrupted, and that by it God's Word could be tested. But the old faith found a firm defender in Samuel L. E. de Marees, who became Consistorialrath in 1760 of Dessau and court preacher. His grandfather had fled from Holland, where he was also related to the prominent Reformed family of Maresius. His other grandfather was Professor Miege of Heidelberg. He bitterly opposed the Rationalism of Teller at Berlin, but aided in introducing a new hymn book, which allowed new hymns in it, but was not rationalistic. Rationalism, however, gradually gained the upper hand in Anhalt.

In Lippe, because the Reformed students attended Reformed universities, Rationalism was slower in entering. But gradually some Rationalists appeared. Lewis F. Cœlln, appointed superintendent and Consistorialrath

by Princess Pauline, was a Rationalist. Gradually other manuals of instruction were introduced and used (instead of the Heidelberg Catechism), of which Cœlln's was rationalistic, "neither Christian nor Reformed." The manuals did not attack the old doctrines, but they did worse, they did not mention them. Thus Jesus is called "the Son of Mary," but nothing is said about His being "the Son of God." In 1820 there was an awakening in the churches. And there was this remarkable fact about it, that the greatest awakening took place in congregations which were most decidedly rationalistic.

The influence of this revival increased, until in 1844 five preachers, tired of the rationalistic catechisms, again used the Heidelberg, and protested against the abolition of the oath, which had required ministers to subscribe to the Heidelberg Catechism. But Rationalism can persecute like Romanism, and the Lippe consistory forbade the Heidelberg Catechism, and these men were punished as disturbers of the peace. As a result, some of the best Reformed people of Lippe emigrated to America, rather than give up their old faith and their old catechism, and settled in the West in Missouri and Wisconsin. But the agitation continued. By 1848 the five orthodox ministers had increased to twelve. They again made an effort to reclaim the Church back to orthodoxy and the Heidelberg Catechism. In 1854 they again appeared before the private councillor of their Prince. He, however,

answered them that his Prince would not introduce a catechism like the Heidelberg, which called the mass an idolatry, because of fear of his Romish subjects. The enemies of orthodoxy were therefore rejoicing already, but the next councillor, Oheimb, restored the Heidelberg Catechism and also the old Lippe Church Order of 1684, as the creed and cultus of the Church. Thus the Lippe Church regained its catechism and its Reformed consciousness, but after a bitter and protracted contest.

CHAPTER V.—SECTION VI.

THE FRENCH CHURCHES.

The churches planted by the French refugees in Germany, were affected by the French Illuminism. In some places their churches degenerated into mere resorts of fashion, while the minister preached a humanitarian gospel, in which rhetoric and oratory made up the sermon, rather than the Gospel. The best tenor of the town was engaged as cantor (singer), and they had the finest choir. Rationalism then found them an easy field to conquer. In one instance the congregation asked the minister to preach not what he believed, but what they believed. And at another place when a new minister was about to be installed, they asked the question, "Why do we need a minister when each one is his own preacher,"—a very proper question for Rationalism to ask, but one that reveals the ultimate end of infidelity, namely, that each man can have his own belief and does not need any church to prescribe its creed for him. This influence of Rationalism was unfortunately aided by the edict of Frederick the Great, July 7, 1772, which registered as members of the French colonies, French and Austrian soldiers who had been taken prisoners in his wars, but did not want to

return to their lands. Although most of them were Romanists, yet they were registered among the French colonies of Germany, and therefore placed in the French churches. The King did this to break up the strict church discipline of the French churches. Thus German Lutherans, French deserters, even monks, nuns and Jesuits, were introduced into connection with the French churches. Of course the church discipline, of which the French churches prided themselves, was broken up. Frederick had no sympathy with church discipline. He declared, "that every man had a right to go to heaven after his own fashion." He opposed the authority of the consistory, calling the consistory at Magdeburg on one occasion, "a consistory of asses." His motto was: "Always King, never priest." If any member of the French churches were punished, he had but to appeal to the King, and he would get redress. Under such circumstances the French churches became demoralized. Rationalism and worldliness came in together, for they are twins—the one of the head, the other of the life. The result was that the French churches suffered severely. Thirty-five French colonies either went down or were swallowed up in German churches. To show the prevalence of Rationalism in the French colony in Berlin, the following illustrations are given: The annual report of the Orphans' school from 1779—1812 does not mention the name of Jesus or of the Holy Ghost, and the Holy Ghost is referred to only once.

In the report of the opening of the French Theological Seminary at Berlin in 1811, no mention is made of God and of His Word or of repentance and faith. In a funeral sermon by Erman, pastor of the French church at Berlin, preached on his colleague, October 15, 1778, he never referred to the fact that he was a preacher of Jesus Christ. And when Erman ordained his son, April 1, 1781, neither the name of Jesus nor of the Holy Ghost came into the sermon. The students of the seminary were taught that culture would save the world instead of the gospel. As a result, in many places Rationalism did for the French churches what the dragoons of Louis XIV. could not do. It destroyed the bone and sinew of the congregation. Orthodoxy and Reformed consciousness all seemed lost.

Yet it must not be forgotten that there were eloquent witnesses for the truth in many of the French churches. Beausobre bore brave testimony, as we have already seen. So did Naude and others at Berlin. There were, however, several French ministers whose efforts are quite marked. The first was Mark Phillip Louis O'Bearn at Halle. Thus in the very city where Rationalism first started under Wolff, the Reformed Church had its firm witness for the truth. No wonder the Lutheran Pietists there were very fond of the French Reformed Church, because its pastor was so Biblical. Although Rationalism captured the university, and its influence was immense in the town, yet O'Bearn still kept on preaching the simple gos-

pel, notwithstanding its overshadowing influence. Even when the German Reformed Church there was honeycombed by Rationalism through Pauli, O'Bearn still preached the old gospel. God had sent this Irishman to preach French in a German city. His maternal grandfather was a son of Admiral Duquesne of France, who, when offered the position of Marshall by King Louis XIV., if he would join the Catholic Church, pointed to his white hairs and said, "Your majesty, I have given sixty years to what is Caesar's, permit me that I give to God what is His." He received permission to spend his last days in his territory, but his sons left France for their faith. His granddaughter came to Halle to stay with an old sailor who had fought under Admiral Duquesne at the bombardment of Algiers. Here an Irish nobleman met her, and their son became pastor at Halle. O'Bearn's witness was as bold and brave as that of his great-grandfather, Admiral Duquesne, in battle. The French, when they took Halle in 1809, united the French with the German Reformed church, and turned the French church into a warehouse. From that day the two congregations have remained united, and worship in the cathedral. O'Bearn was a learned man, especially in the Oriental languages. His learning was respected by the Rationalists as his orthodoxy and spirituality were by the orthodox. He once preached against Schleiermacher's doctrine of redemption, and Schleiermacher, when asked if O'Bearn's theory was

right, replied: "Not the theory, but the love." O'Bearn died April 28, 1809, having borne his testimony at Halle against Rationalism for forty-seven years. It is an interesting fact that this Reformed congregation had the second Sunday school in Germany (the first in the Reformed Church), which was started in 1863, although some Pietists had gathered some children together twenty years before for singing and prayer, but they had been dispersed by the police.

There was another man whom God sent to lead back the French to the old faith, for which their fathers suffered so much—John Henry, at first overseer of the royal library at Berlin and then pastor at Potsdam. He tried in every way to remind the French of their old Reformed inheritance. To remind them of the Reformed faith for which their ancestors had suffered, he published at his own expense "The Journal of Jean Migault," a wonderful record of the sufferings and of deliverance of one of the Huguenots. At the festival of the refugees, October 29, 1826, he preached on Romans 3: 1, warning them that God would spew them out of His mouth, if they gave up their old faith. He endeavored by preaching to deepen their love for the old Gallic confession.

His son, Paul Emil Henry, followed in the footsteps of his father. He was born at Potsdam, 1792, and studied at Geneva, where he came under the influence of the revival there in 1817. He was called as pastor of the

French church at Berlin in 1826, a position which he held till his death. In order to revive the Reformed consciousness of the French, he published (1835-44) his life of John Calvin in three volumes. It was a work of great research, but "rather a collection of material for a biography than a good biography." He also intended to publish the letters of Calvin, of which he had gathered over 1400 unknown before, but his death prevented. However, Bonnet attempted this after his death. He also had the Gallic confession translated into German and reprinted (1845) to show his congregation and the Germans what their fathers believed. He was president of the French Theological Seminary at Berlin and died suddenly after giving the students a lecture on philosophy. He was a strong Calvinist, a great admirer of the great reformer.

CHAPTER V.—SECTION VII.

PROFESSOR J. C. G. KRAFFT.*

Professor Krafft was a mighty witness for the truth, for he not merely led to a revival of the Reformed Church of Bavaria, but also of the great Lutheran Church of that kingdom. He was born December 12, 1784, at Duisburg. There he came under the influence of Rationalism. He then became a private teacher at Frankford, where his uncle, the pastor of the German Reformed church, exerted a good influence over him in bringing him back to the old faith. He then became pastor of a little Reformed congregation at Weeze, near Cleve, 1808. His pastorate there was filled with struggles in his mind to quiet his doubts. He was glad to be called as professor at Erlangen, 1818, as it would give him more time to settle his theological views. He dates his conversion from the year 1821. He then became faithful in his preaching at Erlangen, as pastor as well as professor, and became greatly interested in missions.

* We might have mentioned him in connection with the Reformed universities in chapter II. of this book, but for two reasons: First, Erlangen was not a Reformed university, but Lutheran, having only a Reformed professorship; and second, his influence against Rationalism was rather on the practical side than on the intellectual.

The year 1824 was a critical year for him. His Presbyterium began opposing his aggressive labors, especially his association with missionaries, for he had been in close connection with the missionary society at Basle, but he handled the matter so prayerfully and wisely that it even led to the formation of a missionary society. In this eventful year he had announced a course of lectures on pastoral theology for the winter semester, without finding a single hearer. He was about giving them up, when some of the older students came and asked him for them. It was soon evident that God's Spirit was present in them. Large numbers of students attended them. He began them with prayer and a confession of his faith, which revealed his positive position. The next year he lectured on Missions, the first professor in Germany to do this—long before Wichern called the attention of Germany to Home Missions. He also lectured on Biblical Dogmatics. He was not only a teacher in the class-room, but from his pulpit as well. He founded his sermons deep on God's Word and was a Biblical preacher. Perhaps his most influential meetings were with the students on Sabbath noon, when he would have a conference with them on the doctrines of Christianity. These opened the eyes of many to the truth. His earnestness, his sympathy and anxiety for souls touched their hearts. He was to Erlangen what Tholuck was to Halle, and Bengel had been to Tübingen. The Rationalists might sneer at him as a Pietist and a

Mystic, but his work told. For the young men who sat at his feet, went out to become leaders in the Church of Bavaria. He wrote a "Harmony of the Gospels," which sought to explain the difficulties of Christ's life. He founded a Bible Society in 1825, which in three years distributed 650 Bibles. His house became a religious centre. There ministers, evangelists and missionaries, passing through, stayed. "He was a truly apostolic man, whose very appearance was a silent sermon on the strength of God within him, a rare saint, a man of God." He thus became the spiritual renovator of Bavaria. Just as in North Germany, so here in South Germany, while the Lutheran Church had fallen asleep through Rationalism, the Reformed Church most boldly bore its testimony and led to a return to the old faith. Prof. J. C. K. Von Holman (for ten years the head of the faculty at Erlangen) said that Krafft was his spiritual father. Dr. Stahl, the lawyer and councillor, who was destined to go to Berlin and break up Hegelianism,* in an address before the General Synod of Berlin in 1846, placed Krafft on a level with Spener and Wilberforce, and said, "The man who built up the Church of my fatherland, the most apostolic man I ever met in my life, Pastor Krafft, was a strict adherent to the Heidelberg Catechism. Whether he carried it in his pocket, I know not, but this I know, that he caused a spring time to bloom throughout the whole land, whose fruit will ripen for

* See History of Berlin, 879.

eternity." At another time in the Augsburg Universal paper Stahl said, "In Erlangen labored a man seldom found in our times, without specially stimulating and intellectual gifts, but with great strength and energy of will, of simple faith in the Word of God, he was for the whole land of Bavaria a leaven which leavened the whole loaf." He died May 15, 1845.

We thus see that the Reformed Church had many witnesses, faithful and true, against Rationalism. She need not be ashamed of her testimony. Its fruits, however, will be known only in eternity.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MEDIATING THEOLOGY.

At the beginning of this century two Reformed professors were prominent as leaders of thought, Charles Daub of Heidelberg, and F. D. E. Schleiermacher of Berlin. Both were aiming to build the bridge between faith and unbelief, so as to lead the world back to Christ.

SECTION I.

CHARLES DAUB.

He was a Hessian by birth, having been born at Cassel, March 20, 1765. He studied at Marburg, but was troubled with doubts, which even the prayers of his influential friends with him and for him did not take away. He then became professor at Marburg, but because of his Kantianism he found it best to resign. And so he accepted a call to Heidelberg in 1795, where he taught for 41 years. He was a very versatile philosopher and receptive theologian. He had been called the Tallyrand of German philosophy, because he passed from one school to another with such great ease. "In him the dialectic progress of modern philosophy is personified." He was first a follower of Kant, as was shown by his catechetics. But in 1805 his "Heterodoxy and Orthodoxy" appeared,

in which he reveals himself a follower of Fichte, as does his "Introduction to Christian Dogmatics." Then when Hegel became professor at Heidelberg, Daub was not too old to be influenced by him.* Like the Pantheistic philosophy, which resolved history into ideas, and made it fashionable to connect metaphysical ideas with persons in the gospels, Daub deduced Jesus as the embodiment of the philosophical doctrine of the union of God and man, and Judas as the embodiment of a rival God. His last work, the "Doctrinal Theology of Modern Times" (1833), Strauss calls "the hell of Dante heated with doctrinal systems, etc., of the last sixty years, in which Supernaturalists are roasted by the side of Rationalists, as the spirit of Hegel accompanies him through it, just as the spirit of Virgil led Dante."

But Daub, though a most profound and suggestive thinker, did not found a school of his own, for he was too abstract to do that, and he was receptive rather than formative. He pitilessly scourged Rationalism, yet his whole position was, as Ebrard says, Pantheizing. His desire to die in his professional chair was granted, for on November 19, 1836, he had an apoplectic stroke while lecturing, just after he had uttered the words, "Life is not the highest good." He died three days later, closing a life of genuine piety and brilliant speculation.

* Kahnis says: "His Judas Iscariot (1816-18) displayed a supernaturalism of speculation almost bordering on Manicheism. It shows his struggle with Hegel, but the latter triumphed."

CHAPTER VI.—SECTION II.

FREDERICK D. E. SCHLEIERMACHER.

What Daub was not able to do, Schleiermacher did. He built the bridge for Rationalism to return to Christianity. Two tendencies revealed themselves in the Pantheistic thought that came up at the beginning of this century, the one inclining toward faith, the other leading away from it. The latter was Hegelianism, whose ultimate end was the mythical theory of Strauss. The former was Schleiermacherism.

Schleiermacher was the son of an earnest, orthodox Reformed chaplain,* who, to prevent his son from falling into the Rationalism which filled the universities, sent him to the Moravian school at Niesky, and two years later to their school at Barby. Although Schleiermacher was quite young when there (15–19 years of age), yet the effect of his early Moravian training he never got over during all his life. Following them, he made feeling the root of religion, and following Zinzendorf, he made his theology Christocentric, which was the one feature of his theology that saved it. But even at Barby he began to speculate

* It is remarkable how many prominent Germans were sons of Reformed ministers, as Hengstenberg, who, however, went over to Lutheranism, and Geibel, the great poet, and others.

and have doubts. He became dissatisfied with the Moravian view of Christ's atonement and of eternal punishment. So against the wish of his father, he left Barby and went to the university of Halle, where he lived with an uncle and heard lectures as he pleased. Here he remained two years, and came more and more under the influence of speculation and Pantheism. After teaching a few years, he became (1794) assistant pastor at Landsburg and (1794) pastor of the Charite at Berlin.

During all this time he had been assiduously following the study of philosophy, begun at Halle, and in 1799 he published his famous pamphlet, "Discourses on Religion." This produced a marvellous impression on the youth of Germany and saved many from infidelity, as Werner, to whom religion had appeared a riddle before. In it he said he came not as a minister, but as one who had fought down his doubts. He called attention to the fact which Rationalism had forgotten, that religion is an independent element in man's nature, and that it was not the knowing, but the feeling, that refers all the phenomena of the universe to the spirit of the universe, and that in religion the original unity of man with the universe is restored. But while this book was providentially overruled for good, it is evident, as the Reformed court preacher Sack charged, that he made so many concessions to Pantheism, and it had a Pantheistic as well as Christian basis. The older Rationalists attacked him bitterly, and

some even went so far as to play on his name, which meant a "maker of veils," and intimated that he veiled a hidden Pantheism under his work. He did, it is true, assign to Christianity too low a place, for he made it one among other religions, and not the pre-eminent one, and said that a more perfect form of it is to be expected.

In 1802 he became Reformed court preacher at Stolp, and in 1804 professor of theology in the little French Reformed Theological Seminary at Halle. Here he begins to show a more decided Christian standpoint, for in his "Christmas Celebration" (1806) he makes Christ the heavenly centre of all religions. In 1809 he was made professor in the new university of Berlin, and in 1817 lost to the Reformed Church in the Union. His dogmatics, published 1821, revealed his completed theological system. Space forbids our going into an extended description of his views, nor is it necessary, for he became not a theologian of the Reformed Church, but the founder of the mediating school of theology. Suffice it to say that there were three main characteristics of his theology: (1) Feeling as the ground of religion; (2) theology centers in Christ; (3) pantheizing basis of bringing God and man together, and of explaining the trinity and atonement Christology.* His mediating theology aimed to mediate on two points: (1) Between faith and unbelief (to do that

* See Ebrard Church History, Vol. IV., page 26; Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, Vol. I., page 462, or Introduction to the Study of German Theology by Matheson.

it had to concede some fundamental positions, and he did so by making redemption as something done in us, rather than for us, etc.), and (2) between the Lutheran and the Reformed dogmatic positions (for his dogmatics were the dogmatics of the United Church, not of the Reformed, and to do this he had to give up some Reformed positions to satisfy the Lutherans). In a word, he aimed to be broad in views and sympathies, even at the expense of strictly Reformed positions.

More important for us is it to discover the effect of Schleiermacher and the pantheistic philosophy of the early part of this century on the theologians of the Reformed Church. The school of Schleiermacher, like Hegel, split into two wings, a right and a left. The Reformed who joined the right wing, were Ullman, Rothe and Lange. "They held," as Kahnis says, "that Christianity is not essentially doctrine, as rationalists and supernaturalists had one-sidedly held, nor as law or morality, as Kant had asserted, nor redemption, as Schleiermacher would have it, but as a union of man and God effected in the person of its founder." Thus the mediating theology not merely tried to mediate between opposing systems, but it introduced a positive, new position into theology, namely that the great problem of man and the great aim of God was the union of man with God through Christ. This is simply bringing into prominence one phase of Schleiermacher's theology, his Christocentricity. But these Re-

formed theologians went farther, and held that this union is brought about by Christ taking on Himself generic humanity or the human race, and becoming the man of the species. Thus Christ, the ideal man of Schleiermacher, is reproduced as the real universal man by His disciples, and an idea is made a reality. They thus make Christ the second Adam, exactly like the first.*

Of this mediating theology it might be said that Ullman developed it dogmatically, Rothe ethically, and Lange aesthetically of the Reformed theologians. Three other Reformed theologians remain to be described. They may be described as representing the three schools of Calvinism (for the Supralapsarian view has been given up), the Infralapsarian, Cocceian and Sublapsarian. The Sublapsarian as represented by Prof. J. H. A. Ebrard, the Cocceian by Prof. Henry Heppe, and the Infralapsarian by H. Kohlbrügge. This is a convenient arrangement, although on some minor points each has been affected by the drifts of theology, and varies somewhat from the original expression of these schools.

* This never can be done, for the first Adam had no divine nature in him as the second had. Again, could the one be the type of the other, if they were exactly identical, for they would be identical, not typical? There must be some differences, so as to make them type and the antitype.

CHAPTER VI.—SECTION III.

CHARLES ULLMAN.

Ullman is the closest orthodox follower of Schleiermacher among the Reformed. He was born at Effenbach in the Palatinate, March 15, 1796. In 1812 he entered the university of Heidelberg, where he was brought into contact with the pantheistic tendencies of philosophy by Hegel and Daub. But the pious Abegg exerted a blessed influence on him to correct these views. He then, at Daub's suggestion, attended the Lutheran university of Tubingen, where he came into contact with the Pietists of Wurtemberg. He was licensed (1816) and the next year was assistant at Kirchheim. But his examiners, among them Hegel, urged him to become a professor, instead of a pastor; so he began his studies again and went to the newly founded university of Berlin. Here, under Schleiermacher, Neander and DeWette he came thoroughly under the influence of the mediating theology. Schleiermacher gave him its theology, Neander its history and DeWette its criticism. He was more affected by Schleiermacher's teachings than any one of the students, except Nitsch.

In 1819 he returned to Heidelberg as lecturer, and in 1821 became professor extraordinary. Here he found it somewhat difficult to maintain his position, for most of the students followed the speculative Daub, or the rationalistic Paulus. In 1825 he published his *Gregory Nazianzen*, the most complete monograph that had as yet appeared on any of the Church fathers, and it gave him a great reputation. In 1828 he, with Umbreit, founded the magazine "*Studien und Kritiken*" as the organ of the Mediating School. The first essay with which Ullman opened it, was on "*The Sinlessness of Jesus.*" It was an apologetic, based, says Beyschlag, on the central position of Schleiermacher's dogmatics. It rested the proof of the divinity of Jesus on His sinlessness. This, like the whole mediating theology of which it is the centre, gives a good apologetic centre, but a poor dogmatic centre for the development of Biblical and spiritual truth, as it is defensive, and not peculiarly spiritual and devotional. This work passed through seven editions by 1863.

Ullman had thus gained so great a reputation that Prussia was now determined to gain him for one of her large universities. In 1829 he was called to Halle, where he aided Tholuck in overcoming the old Rationalism. But he was not satisfied there and longed for the beautiful mountain city of Heidelberg, whose university was receiving new vigor by the appointment of men like Rothe. He returned therefore to Heidelberg in 1836. In reply to

Strauss' "Life of Christ," he wrote "Historic or Mythic" (1838). His "Reformers Before the Reformation," the best historic justification of the Protestant Church, appeared in 1842. In 1845 his *Essence of Christianity* appeared, which reveals his mediating theology, as described above. This passed rapidly through four editions. Like Schleiermacher, he defines Christianity as life derived from its founder. "The Greek received it as doctrine, the Latin as law, and the Protestant as redemption and spiritual liberty. These conceptions were true as far as they go, but they do not go far enough. The whole truth is, that Christianity as a perfected religion unites God and man." He was appointed prelate of the United Church of Baden in 1853, which brought him into bitter conflicts with the Rationalists, and he resigned in 1861. He died January 12, 1865, with the verse "O sacred Head, now wounded" on his lips.



CHAPTER VI.—SECTION IV.

RICHARD ROTHE.

Closely allied with Ullman was Richard Rothe, the ethical theologian and one of the most speculative minds of this century. Next to Schleiermacher he has done more to quicken German thought than any one else. But no creed, not even the Heidelberg Catechism, could confine him within its bounds. He was born January 28, 1799, and attended the Reformed gymnasium at Breslau and (1817) the university of Heidelberg. There Abegg's preaching seemed to affect him more than Daub's lectures. In 1819 he went to the university of Berlin, but he did not like it as well as Heidelberg. He enjoyed Neander, but not Schleiermacher. But he felt that he must construct a system of theology for himself, instead of taking any one else's. In Berlin he was fortunately brought into contact with Baron Von Kottwitz, the leader of the Berlin pietists. The theological seminary at Wittenberg, which he next attended, also influenced him toward Pietism. And yet he was rather a Pietist of conscience than of experience. He was called as chaplain of the German embassy at Rome (1823) by Bunsen. Here his views became broader. His naturally speculative mind asserted itself

above his Pietism, and he became his own sort of a believer.

He returned to Germany (1828) as director of the Wittenberg Seminary. His acute exegesis of Romans 5: 12—21 gave him fame, and in 1839 he was called as professor to Heidelberg. Here he became a true successor of the speculative Daub. In 1845 he went to Bonn as professor for five years, but resigned, as he did not want to be Consistorialrath, but only professor. He became active in the ecclesiastical affairs in Baden, surprising the Evangelicals by going over to the camp of the enemy and aiding Schenkel, because he loved liberty better than orthodoxy.

His Theological Ethics, 1845—8, was his greatest work, and reveals the progress of the Mediating theology. If the sinless person of Christ is made the centre of theological thinking, it will produce an ethical theology. In harmony with this, Rothe held "that religion and morals are identical, and no Christian doctrine is complete, unless it ends in action; and on the other hand, no action of man is really complete, unless illuminated by Christian doctrine." These beautiful ideas he applied practically to Christian motives and duties, and also to the state, holding that the laws of the state were to be filled with Christian ideas or doctrines. This led to the logical conclusion that the state should ultimately absorb the Church, as the state becomes more and more permeated with Christian

ideas. This was a bold conception, and led him to be criticised on many sides, as by the Romanists, who held the opposite view—that the state is to be absorbed in the Church. In his doctrinal ideas, as revealed in his *Ethics* and *Dogmatics*, he wanders far from the old Reformed positions. He abandons the old doctrine of the trinity and the Christology of Chalcedon, although he admits the divinity of Christ, but holds to a gradual incarnation theory, and also to annihilationism. His system reveals great breadth of thought. No Christian idea and no phase of Christian faith is forgotten in it. And yet in all his speculations he remained a simple-hearted Christian. However far his mind might wander, or however high his speculation might soar, he still confessed that he knew no other ground as the anchor of his soul but Jesus Christ.*

* We have space only to refer to Schenkel, who was called to Heidelberg from Basle as a Reformed professor. But he soon left the orthodox Reformed position. His *Dogmatics* was written from the standpoint of the conscience. His influence as a Rationalist swung the university of Heidelberg completely over into their hands.

CHAPTER VI.—SECTION V.

JOHN PETER LANGE.

The æsthetic theologian of the mediating school of the Reformed Church was Lange, the poetical theologian and the theological poet, the most important Reformed hymn writer of his age. He was born April 10, 1802, at Sonnborn, near Elberfeld. Every dollar he earned, he took to Elberfeld to buy books. He aided his father, who was a wagon-master, and often thought of becoming a merchant. This desire led him to study French, which by and by led him to Voltaire, whose works led him to Rationalism. The new assistant pastor, Kalthof, who came there in 1819, saw his talents and urged him to study theology. He went in 1821 to the Düsseldorf gymnasium, where his poetical talents early showed themselves in his parody on the "Singer of Gæthe." In 1822 he went to Bonn university, where he came under the influence of the mediating theology of Nitzsch. In 1825 he became assistant pastor to Emil Krummacher at Langenberg. Then he was called to Wald, near Solingen, 1826, and 1828 as pastor to Langenberg.

Here he was active in literary as well as pastoral labors. The first volume of his "Biblical Poems"

appeared, and in it his beautiful Easter hymn, "Der Herr ist auferstanden":

The Lord of life is risen :
Sing, Easter heralds, sing,
He bursts His rocky prison ;
Wide let the triumph ring.
In death no longer lying,
He rose, the Prince, to-day ;
Life of the dead and dying,
He triumphed o'er decay.

Around Thy tomb, O Jesus,
How sweet the Easter breath ;
Hear we not in the breezes,
"Where is thy sting, O Death?"
Dark hell flies in commotion,
The heavens their anthems sing ;
While far o'er earth and ocean
Glad hallelujahs ring.

Oh, publish this salvation,
Ye heralds, through the earth,
To every buried nation,
Proclaim the day of birth,
Till, rising from their slumbers
In long and ancient night,
The countless heathen numbers
Should hail the Easter light.

Hail! hail! our Jesus risen!
Sing, ransomed brethren, sing!
Through death's dark, gloomy prison
Let Easter chorals ring.
Haste, haste, ye captive legions,
Accept your glad reprieve ;
Come forth from sin's dark regions—
In Jesus' kingdom live.

He also wrote a work replying to the high predestinarian views of F. W. Krummacher, in which he holds to

universal atonement. In 1832 he was called to Duisburg, where he published his second volume of Biblical poems, which contain his beautiful hymns, "Sei Du mein Freund" and "Mein Weg kommt von der Wiege." In 1836 he wrote his "History of Christ's Infancy," directed against Strauss, which gave him fame. In 1839 he visited Switzerland, where his aesthetic nature was charmed by the beauty and grandeur of the scenery. When the uprising of the Swiss against Strauss at Zurich prevented Strauss from accepting a professorship at Zurich, Lange was called there by the new conservative government, who had heard of his ability through his work against Strauss. But as Strauss still had many friends there, he found his position difficult at first. Nevertheless he soon gained many friends, so that when, after thirteen years, he left there, even his enemies had become his friends. Here he published (1849-52) his "Life of Christ," a masterly answer to Strauss. Yet this work was attacked in the home of his nativity by F. W. Krummacher, so that he was compelled to defend himself. He also published his Dogmatics, which reveal his speculative, poetical mind, and also show him a unionistic, mediating theologian, rather than a confessional Reformed theologian. His stay at Zurich was also enriched by his "History of German Hymns, and Theory of Church Hymns," to which he added another book of poems, in which are his famous hymns, "Hörst Du die Glocke der Ewigkeit?" and "Nun weisz ich einen sicheren Ort."

In 1854 he went back to Germany as professor at Bonn, in Dorner's place. He became a member of the united consistory in 1866 and a leader in the United Church, taking an active part in Synods, conferences, diets, etc. But his commentaries were his greatest work. These were an immense undertaking. He labored at them for more than twenty years. He engaged about twenty commentators, but wrote commentaries on fifteen books himself. His commentary is a master-piece of industry, combining knowledge and criticism, poetical flights and philosophical speculations, in which sometimes his views are fanciful, rather than correct. He aims to combine both the ideal and real; thus at one time the devil is an ambiguous term, the ideal of the evil principle, and at another a personal spirit. The criticism that has been made on Lange is that he was too much of a poet to be a theologian, and too much of a theologian to be a poet. His poetical, aesthetic nature often obscures, rather than clears, his dogmatic perceptions.

In his *Dogmatics* (1849-52) he declared that theology must start from a knowledge of man's nature, which he says has a three-fold consciousness, like God. The incarnation is an eternal truth realized in Christ. The Son at the incarnation took not an individual nature, but humanity. A peculiarity of his Christology is his distinction between Christ's day and night consciousness, which is fanciful and poetical, rather than clear. He

holds to kenosis, but in such a mild form that the doctrine limits Christ substantially in the use, rather than the possession, of His divine attributes. Thus in various ways he reveals his divergence from the confessional Reformed position and his adherence to the mediating theology. His Lutheranizing tendencies are shown in his views of the Lord's Supper, where he speaks of the glorified Christ coming down on earth to the communicant, to confer on him the power of His body. He says, "This requirement, ignored by Calvin, Luther carried out from the beginning of his doctrine, that in the bread and wine the true body and blood of Christ is actively received by the believer."*

This mediating theology was accepted by Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff. He had been trained in Switzerland after the confessional Reformed consciousness had been forgotten in the fierce conflict with Rationalism, and only a general Evangelical belief, rather than Reformed, remained, especially in the northeastern cantons. He went to Berlin and became an ardent follower of Neander and the mediating school. He introduced the mediating theology

* John Jacob Herzog, a Swiss by birth, became prominent as a Reformed professor at Halle and Erlangen. He was more noted as a historian than a theologian. But his great work was his *Theological Encyclopædia*, begun at Halle, 1854, and ended at Erlangen, 1866, published in 21 volumes. In this he wrote not less than 529 articles himself. He also published a second edition of it. It was written from an Evangelical standpoint, although the positions of the rationalist are very fairly stated. It was an immense undertaking, and will ever remain a monument to his industry, learning and breadth of sympathy, as well as orthodox position in theology.

to America. Rev. Dr. J. W. Nevin became a follower of Ullman, part of one of whose works he translates as the first chapter in his *Mystical Presence*, and on which he builds his theology. But Ullman's theology was not rated in Germany as confessional Reformed theology, but as mediating unionistic, tinged with concessions to Lutheranism, especially on the sacraments.

CHAPTER VI.—SECTION VI.

JOHN HENRY AUGUSTUS EBRARD.

He was born at Erlangen, January 18, 1818. His father was of Huguenot ancestry and pastor of the French Reformed church there, the predecessor of the pious Professor Krafft, under whose ministry the pious boy grew up and received his religious impressions. He attended the university of Erlangen, and became private docent there. When only twenty-three years of age, he wrote a reply to Strauss, "A Scientific Critique of the Gospel History," which reached three editions and gave him a reputation, so that when only twenty-six years of age, he was called as professor of theology at Zurich university, where he remained five years. Here he published his "History of the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper," which is especially important in his description of Zwingli's views. To investigate these, his residence at Zurich gave him peculiar opportunities. In 1848 he was called back to Erlangen to succeed Professor Krafft. Here he published his Dogmatics, 1851. Then he was made Consistorialrath at Spires in 1853. Of his conflicts with the Rationalists there, we have not time to speak. Suffice it to say that he resigned and was back at Erlangen in 1861.

For a number of years no place seemed to be open to him, for the rationalistic opposition to him made all his efforts to secure a position suitable to his ability in vain. Still his literary activity was very great. In 1864 he published his "Practical Theology." In it he holds that practical theology was not the fourth of the departments of theology, as it is usually rated, but the entire theology under the aspect of art, as distinct from science. Theology was first science, and then art, which cares for practical activities, basing itself, however, on scientific knowledge. His was a varied genius. He also wrote poems, as the twenty-four Psalms. He composed novels under various pseudonyms like Gottfried Flamborg, Sigmund Sturm, etc. He wrote Huguenot tales, and in "Einer ist euer Meister" (One is your Master) he tells the romance of the birth of the Reformed Church at Heidelberg in the sixteenth century. In 1875 he was called to the French Reformed church at Erlangen, of which his father had been pastor before Krafft. His crowning work was his "Apologetics," 1874-75. In it he completely annihilates all anti-Christian systems. Few men of his day could have produced such an array of facts from all sources and philosophies, wrought them together in such logical and lucid order, and made them tell so effectively. It reveals wide reading, magnificent grasp of thought, acute reasoning united to grim humor. It was the master-piece of apologetics of his day.

Theologically Ebrard claimed to belong to the Sublapsarian school of Calvinism. Being of Huguenot descent, he gloried in his theological standpoint "as Reformed orthodox in the sense of the Loudon Synod of 1660, which declared Amyraldism to be highly orthodox." He claims that this was the position of the German Reformed Church.* In harmony with the Sublapsarians, Ebrard believes in the universality of the atonement over against limited atonement, and holds to redemptive Calvinism, rather than a theological or anthropological Calvinism, like Augustine or Calvin had done.

But while Ebrard may be called an Amyraldian in his general position, on two important points he reveals himself as influenced by the philosophic thought of this century. First he was influenced by Thomasius, who was professor at the same university of Erlangen, to hold the view of kenosis, which meant that Christ's divinity limited itself to His humanity. He held, however, that while the Logos reduced Himself to the dimensions of a man, He at the same time retained and exercised His divine perfections, in order to harmonize the problem.

* We could wish that his statements were true, for our view is that of Sublapsarian Calvinism as being the biblical view. But facts abundantly prove that both the German and the Swiss Reformed Churches were higher Calvinists, and that the Federal school was in the ascendent during most of their history. Schweitzer is right against Ebrard in saying that the Reformed Church was predestinarian, although we do not believe, in his pantheistic sense. While Ebrard is right against Schweitzer, that the German Church had different schools of Calvinism, instead of a high Calvinistic school only, he is wrong in not making the Cocceian the most prominent.

How the same individual mind can be finite and infinite, ignorant and omniscient, he explains by saying that eternity and time are not parallel. But suppose they are not parallel, how does that explain it? It is verbal quibbling, which cannot explain so profound a philosophical problem.* In becoming a kenotist, he departs from the historic Reformed position, for kenotists have never historically been a party among Reformed dogmatists. The kenotic controversy occurred rather in the Lutheran Church between the universities of Giessen and Tübingen, in the early part of the sixteenth century, which reveals that kenosis was the development of the Lutheran eutychnianizing tendencies, which the Reformed rejected. The proper Reformed view was occultation, that the divinity was voluntarily hidden behind the humanity, like the sun in an eclipse.

Ebrard was also influenced by the mediating theology, so that Kahnis even reckons him among the unionistic theologians, rather than the Reformed. He evidently aimed to adapt the Reformed views to the mediating theology on some points. Thus he holds that Christ came to earth to start a new race and took on Himself generic humanity, and this theanthropic life has come down to us through the Church. At baptism regeneration is begun by the infusion of this theanthropic life, which is

* For a full statement of his views, see Bruce's *Humiliation of Christ*, page 414-5.

further communicated to the communicant through the Lord's Supper. Ebrard, however, differed from Nevin, (as Dorner did in his criticisms on Nevin). While Ebrard conceded the idea of the theanthropic life, yet he is careful to claim that the union between this theanthropic life and the believer is by *faith*, and not by the mere sacramental act;* and he gives a larger efficiency to the Holy Spirit in linking our faith to Christ's humanity, than does the mechanical theory of Nevin. In his "Practical Theology" he opposes any high Church sacramentarian views. After saying that "he who once becomes a Puseyite, will soon be a Papist," he says: "The preaching of the Gospel has lost its charm, the people must be attracted and wrought upon by responsive service and the riches of liturgical forms. 'O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?'"† He died July 23, 1888. It seems unfortunate that so profound a thinker should have been circumscribed by rationalistic and Lutheran influences to a small university and a limited sphere.

* Ebrard's Dogmatics, Section 531.

† See Reformed Church Monthly, April, 1875.

CHAPTER VI.—SECTION VII.

HENRY LEWIS JULIUS HEPPE.

Henry Heppe was born at Cassel, March 30, 1820. He early desired to become a minister, but poverty hindered. Still in spite of it, he struggled to gain his aim. He studied at the gymnasium at Cassel and the university of Marburg, and was called in 1843 as senior pastor of the St. Martin's church of Cassel. Here his earnest sermons drew large audiences. He early revealed his great industry and his inclination to historical studies. For at Cassel he gained access to the historical archives, which he so wonderfully developed in his *Church Histories of Hesse*. In 1847 he published his *History of the General Synods of Hesse*. In 1849 his love for study led him to resign his pastorate and go to Marburg, where in 1850 he became a professor extraordinary, although receiving only \$225, which he divided with his parents, who found a home with him. In 1852 the university, in recognition of his historical labors, gave him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was the youngest person then holding that degree in Germany. His controversy with Vilmar, as to whether the Hessian Church was Reformed or Lutheran, we will refer to later. In his *History of*

German Protestantism (1853-9) he held that the original Lutheran Church of Germany was Melancthonian, and that the high Lutherans were only a party in that Church, who came up afterward and finally gained control of the Church, while the original Lutheran party (Melancthonian) continued itself in the Reformed Church, which as German Reformed differed from the Reformed Churches in other lands by its lower view of the predestination and its higher view of the sacraments. With this theory his later books are tinged. He, however, does not make out either of his points. As to the first, that the early Lutherans were Melancthonian, Luther's views on predestination and the slavery of the will abundantly disprove it, though it is to be noticed that the different schools of Lutherans did not separate from each other till after Luther's death. (Of the Melancthonianism of the Reformed Church we will speak in Book VII.) Heppe continued his diligent labors. His *History of Pietism* virtually created that branch of Church history. He published his *Confessions of the Reformed Church of Germany*, then his *Dogmatics*, and also a *Life of Beza* in the "Fathers of the Reformed Church" series, also a *History of the Evangelical Church of Cleve, Mark and Westphalia*, *Church History of the Two Hesses*, the latter gaining him the greatest approval, even the investiture by the Landgrave of the Order of Philip, first class. Through the intense opposition of the Hassenpflug-Vilmär

ministry, he was not appointed as a regular professor at Marburg till 1864. He died July 25, 1879, after having heard his favorite hymn, "Jesus, meine Zuversicht."

As a theologian he occupies the Cocceian position. While in history he was Melancthonian, in Dogmatics he belonged to the Federal school. His Dogmatics rather gives the material for a Dogmatics, than is a Dogmatics itself. But its central principle was the covenants. He teaches unconditional predestination and the election of a certain number. He says, "while therefore the divine decree is the being and willing of God Himself, it is conditioned by nothing, but is absolute, eternal and unchangeable. In no wise can the ground of election be found in anything outside of God, neither in the will of man, nor in the use of the means of grace, nor in the foreseen faith of the regenerated, nor in his diligence in mortification, also not in the merits of Christ, but only in the benevolence of God." He holds that a part of the human race are elected, and that there is reprobation. As to Christ's death he holds to limited atonement.* His Dogmatics, with their valuable extracts from Reformed Dogmaticians, is an admirable historical compend of Reformed dogmatics. Everywhere he speaks of the covenants.

* See Dogmatics, pages 111-114 and 328.

CHAPTER VI.—SECTION VIII.

THE INFRALAPSARIAN SCHOOL.

A last school of Reformed theology in our day is the Infralapsarian. This was represented by Kohlbrügge. God's sovereignty is emphasized, but exhibited rather as a comfort and ground of hope, than from the standpoint of mere law and justice. In the doctrine of election of grace, in common with the Reformed of Germany, he emphasized the grace rather than the election, although he made the latter the ground of the former. He did not formulate his views into a Dogmatics, but they are revealed in his published sermons. His son-in-law, Professor Bøehl, of the university of Vienna, has more fully formulated his views in his Dogmatics and other works.

Kohlbrügge was closely followed by Professor John Wichelhaus, who was professor at Halle in 1854. Although he belonged to the state Reformed Church, yet he sympathized with Kohlbrügge. But he was permitted to teach only four years, when he died. He left his impress on his students, Professor Bøehl of Vienna and the late Rev. Mr. Bula of Switzerland. His theology is Biblical and Calvinistic, as revealed in his lectures, published by Dr. Adolph Zahn, who is also a strong adherent of the

Kohlbrügge school, and whose excellent work on Deuteronomy, and also on Calvin, should be noticed. But Professor Edward Böhl of Vienna* is the most prominent living representative of this school. He was born at Hamburg, November 18, 1836, and became Reformed professor at Vienna, 1864. He is an able thinker and a strong Calvinist. With him the decrees is the formative principle of Dogmatics, yet he holds that they should bring man to humility, rather than to indifference. He agrees with the Infralapsarians on limited atonement.

But this school of Kohlbrügge has been charged with several peculiar tendencies. First, Kohlbrügge was charged with antinomianism, because he so greatly emphasized the grace of God, they said, as to leave man nothing to do. Man is nothing. God is everything. While some of his expressions seem unguarded, yet he denied any antinomianism. He also held that Christ, in becoming man, came under the law as a child of Adam in the same way that any other child of Adam came under the law. This has been understood to mean that Christ took sinful nature in union with his divinity.† While Böhl in his work on justification has been charged with not sufficiently distinguishing sanctification and justifica-

* This university is in close touch with those of Germany, as it is a German university.

† This view was due to his theory of original sin, which made it a change of relation, rather than a change of nature, and was the result of their emphasis on the objective side, to the exclusion of the subjective.

tion, he declared that justification is not merely a forensic act, but also a making him righteous, an actual transaction. Righteousness implies a whole change of the sinner before God, and so brings with it both regeneration and sanctification.*

* It is greatly to be regretted that Professor Usteri died so soon at Erlangen in 1890. His ability and industry gave promise of so much hope and success. Professor Charles Müller has been appointed his successor there in 1892, and bids fair to bring Reformed dogmatics again into prominence.

BOOK VI.

THE UNION.

CHAPTER I.

THE PRUSSIAN UNION.

SECTION I.

EFFORTS AT UNION.

Church union had long been a dream ; it now became a reality. Three centuries (1529–1817) elapsed before it was realized. The dream of Zwingli, when at Marburg he held out his hand to Luther and was refused, was fulfilled when the Prussian King ordered the union of the Reformed and Lutherans into one Evangelical Church, to take place October 31, 1817.

Conferences on union had been held in the past. Bucer had been the apostle of union in the sixteenth century, but all he could secure was a concord (the Wittenberg Concord), not a union. In the next century three conferences were held. One was held at Leipsic, March, 1631, between Hoe von Hoenegg with two other Lutherans and the Reformed court preachers, J. Bergius and J.

Crocus, and Superintendent Neuberger. They agreed on the basis of the Augsburg Confession, and disagreed on the Lord's Supper and predestination, but the conference failed to produce a union. Then came John Dury with his union efforts during the Thirty Years' War and after. In July, 1661, another conference was held at Cassel between the Reformed professors of Marburg, Curtius and Hein, and the Lutheran professors of Rinteln, Musaeus and Hennich. This was the most satisfactory conference of all, for even the Lutherans were concessive. They belonged to the mild Lutheran school of Calixtus. The two denominations disagreed on the Lord's Supper and predestination. This conference was remarkable for the clear statement of the points of difference, for the excellent spirit shown and the agreement to treat each other as brethren. The following year, August 21, 1662, the Elector of Brandenburg ordered a conference between the Reformed and Lutheran ministers of Berlin—between Stosch and other Reformed ministers, and Reinhardt and Paul Gerhardt of the Lutherans, but it failed to bring about a union. In 1703 another conference was held at Berlin between Strimesius and Jablonsky for the Reformed, and Winkler for the Lutherans. (Jablonsky was a Moravian bishop, who was also the Reformed court preacher. He it was who ordained Zinzendorf (1731), and thus linked the later Moravians with the old Bohemian brethren. The Moravians of to-day have a Reformed

minister to thank for their succession of bishops.) This conference was also a failure. Then the subject of union slept for a century, until 1817. In the union of 1817 several Reformed were prominent, as Schleiermacher, and especially Eylert, the private court councilor to the King. Francis Theremim, the great Reformed court preacher and pulpit orator, whose treatise on Eloquence as a Virtue is a classic, aided in preparing the hymn book for the united Church. Yet one cannot help noticing that most of these Reformed leaders for union were either inclined to Rationalism, as Schleiermacher and Eylert, or to Lutheranism, as Hengstenberg and Theremim. But the Reformed received the union more heartily than the Lutherans, for they were always more inclined to union. Indeed the union was the work of the Reformed, because it was a Reformed King who ordered it, and the conciliatory spirit of the Reformed that made it possible.

CHAPTER I.—SECTION II.

THE NATURE OF THE UNION.

This is a difficult subject. The union might be an absorption of the one denomination by the other, or a fusion of the two into one, or a federation by which each remained distinct. Exactly which of these was meant, was made more uncertain by the uncertain action of the Prussian court. The first decree in 1817 made it a federation ; the next, 1830 (ordering the introduction of a common liturgy), made it a fusion ; the third, 1834, made it a federation by declaring that the union did not mean the abolition of the creeds of the individual Churches. This meant that the Reformed should retain their creed and cultus, as before the union.

We confess that we have had great difficulty in understanding the union, just because it might mean so many different things. The fact was that there were different kinds of union. Thus the lowest kind of union was *sacramental* union, where the Lutherans and Reformed would allow each other to come to the communion table, although each congregation retained its creed as before. At the other extreme of union was fusion, in which each gave up its peculiarities, and a new Evangelical congregation was formed out of the previous Reformed and Lutheran congregations. A third kind of union was a medium between

these two extremes, a federation—each congregation remained as before with its creed and customs. It simply added the word Evangelical to its previous name, and allowed the ministers of the other denomination into its pulpits and their communicants to its communion.

The different phases of union have also been given another way, according to Church government. Thus (1) The closest union was in the *congregation*, when two congregations agreed to unite into one. (2) There was union in a *Synod*, by which each congregation remained Lutheran or Reformed, but both denominations were united in a higher court, the Synod. (3) A union still less close was in the secular court above the Synod, the consistory; that is, the Synods remained Reformed or Lutheran, but they were united under one consistory. Even here there was a difference, for some consistories were not divided on the score of denomination, others were. This last was really no union, and simply meant that each denomination remained distinct, but was under the secular control of the consistory.

It may be said in regard to these different meanings of the union that, as a class, the Lutherans generally understood the union to mean fusion, while the Reformed generally that it meant federation. This difference will explain some of the acts of the Lutherans, which seem arbitrary. These differences in understanding the nature of the union caused some strife, of which we will speak afterward.

CHAPTER II.

EFFECT OF THE UNION ON THE REFORMED.

There were many Reformed churches in Germany, as many as there were Reformed states (for each state had its own Church organization), although they agreed in doctrine. Some of these churches that united with the Lutherans were not in the Prussian union at all, while on the other hand some of the churches in Prussia did not unite with the Lutherans. We will have, therefore, to notice them separately.

SECTION I.

THE EFFECT ON THE REFORMED CHURCHES THAT ENTERED THE UNION.

These were of two kinds—those in Prussia and those outside of Prussia. The Prussian provinces where the Reformed entered the union, were Brandenburg, Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia, Posen, Westphalia and Rhine Province. Of these the Reformed of East and West Prussia have their own Synod, which meets yearly and has its own inspector, although it is united with the Lutherans under the same consistory. In Silesia the Reformed used to have an inspector, but now have none. In Pomerania

they have neither Classis nor inspector, but are part of the Synod of the United Church, although existing as individual Reformed congregations.* In Brandenburg the German Reformed congregations have almost all been absorbed in the union, except the Bethlehem church at Berlin, which, however, worships in a union church; but the property is to be divided, its share being 75,000 dollars. Where there used to be three Reformed churches in Berlin, the cathedral, Parochial and Bethlehem, together with a Reformed pastor placed at each of the following Lutheran churches, the Jerusalem, Dorothean and Werder, there is now only one German Reformed church, with a Reformed pastor, Rev. Mr. Hapke. Where there used to be four Reformed ministers at the cathedral, three at the Parochial, four military chaplains and one university preacher, there is now one. There are 16,000 Reformed in Berlin, for whom there is only the Bethlehem church. The United Church has steadily pursued the policy of trying to strangle both this church and the French Reformed Church there by allowing only those to belong to it who are descendents of Bohemians or of Huguenots, thus cutting them off from evangelizing among the Germans, where they would have room to grow. The French Church there has four churches, the French cathedral, the cloister, the Louisa City and the hospital. The French Synod,

* In Silesia is a small Reformed, or rather Presbyterian, body, consisting of three charges and 440 communicants, and accepting the Westminster confession. It was founded by the Scotch Presbyterian Church.

to which this Church in Berlin belongs, is a separate Synod of the United Church.

In the western provinces of Prussia the Reformed are as strong as they are weak in the eastern part. In Westphalia three of the Synods of the United Church are entirely Reformed—Siegen, Sayn and Tecklenburg. The Reformed have an excellent representative in the United consistory in Rev. S. Gœbel of Munster. In the Rhine province they are allowed still larger liberty. Many of the congregations are still intensely Reformed, as Elberfeld. Outside of Prussia other states accepted the union.

The Reformed and Lutheran Churches were united in the following provinces not incorporated in Prussia, namely Bavarian Palatinate, Baden, the Grand Duchy of Hesse and Anhalt. In the first two the Reformed were entirely absorbed in the union, and we need not follow their history. It is a sad fact that Heidelberg, the birth-place of the Reformed in Germany, no longer knows the Heidelberg Catechism. In the Grand Duchy of Hesse there still exist a number of Reformed congregations, who are now rejoicing that they again have been granted the use of the Heidelberg Catechism. In Anhalt the Reformed have all been absorbed in the union, except, perhaps, five or six congregations.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION II.

REFORMED CHURCHES NOT IN THE UNION.

There were quite a number of the Reformed churches in Germany that never entered the union. The German states that were united to Prussia after 1817 did not have the Prussian union introduced into them. They were Hanover, Nassau and Electoral Hesse. One of them, Nassau, however introduced the union before it was joined to Prussia, and so fully introduced it as to entirely destroy the Reformed consciousness. It is a sad fact to the Reformed that the burial-place of Olevianus at Herborn in Nassau, as well as the burial-place of Ursinus at Neustadt in the Palatinate, do not know either of these men any longer, for they have left the Reformed faith of these reformers. When Olevianus' tablet in the church at Herborn became broken through age, it was left for a foreign Reformed Church—"The Reformed Church of the United States"—to replace it with a new and beautiful tablet; which that Church did very gladly, because she reveres his character and doctrine. But in the other two annexed provinces, Hanover and Electoral Hesse, they are not united. In Hanover the Reformed existed for a long time under a united consistory, although

the East Friesland Reformed church had a member in the consistory. But in 1885 their first General Synod was granted them. In this church is the Coetus of Emden, the oldest Reformed organization in Germany, having been founded by Lasco in 1544. It now has no ecclesiastical authority, and meets about four times a year.*

In Electoral Hesse the large Reformed church never officially entered the Union, except in one of its districts, Hanau. Here the Union was called "a bookbinder's union," because the Lutheran and the Heidelberg Catechisms were bound together into one book, so that either could be used. Thus each congregation retained its creed. Outside of Hanau the Hessian Church is not united, but each denomination has its own superintendent. The university of Marburg, however, was made United in 1822.

Besides these congregations in provinces, which were incorporated in Prussia, there are a number of Reformed churches in states that never came under the control of Prussia. Of course the Union was not introduced into them, and they are now distinct.

A) In Bavaria there is a small Reformed Synod (the descendent of the Huguenot Reformed Synod of the seventeenth century), which held its first Synod in 1856.

* There is in Hanover a small Old Reformed Church, composed of congregations formed from the Christian Church of Holland. It is highly Calvinistic, and accepts, in addition to the Heidelberg Catechism, the Canons of Dort and the Belgic Confession, but is a small body.

B) Lippe contains a large and well organized Reformed Church, divided into three classes under the ducal (Reformed) consistory. The Count of Lippe Detmold is one of the few Reformed princes yet remaining in Germany, and is a wealthy and wise ruler.

C) The city of Bremen is still Reformed, as it never officially entered the union, although the city council placed a Lutheran pastor at some of the Reformed churches. But the Liebfrau, St. Martin's, St. Stephen's and St. Michael's are still exclusively Reformed. At St. Stephen's is the famous pulpit orator, Otto Funcke, whose sermons and works are so popular and helpful.

D) Another Reformed church that has never entered the union, is the Reformed church of Alsace and Lorraine. This church had been a part of the French Reformed Church up to 1871, when that province was ceded to Germany. It consists of four consistories.

E) The Lower Saxon Confederation, composed of the churches at Gottingen, Hanover, etc., was organized 1703, and is a relic of the Brunswick Huguenot Synod. It has a thoroughly presbyterial organization in its congregations, and its Synod meets every six years.

F) The Synod of the province of Saxony was organized in 1864, and contained the Reformed congregations around Halle and Magdeburg.

G) Besides these there are scattered Reformed congregations, as in Hamburg, Leipsic, Dresden, Frankford, etc., some of which are quite strong.

There are in all the German states about 800 Reformed congregations and about a million and a third of adherents.* Their Church government is as follows: One General Synod (Hanover), five Synods (East and West Prussia, French Reformed of Brandenburg, Confederation of Lower Saxony, Confederation of the province of Saxony, and the Synod of Bavaria). One Church is divided into Classes (Lippe), and one into consistories (Alsace-Lorraine). Of these churches about two-fifths are in the United Church and three-fifths are not (450,000 in the union, to 750,000 outside of it).† These statistics are proved by Rev. Dr. Brandes, who says that of the one million and a third Reformed in Germany three to four hundred thousand have entered the union.‡ Professor George Schodde says that there are ten Reformed Churches, seven United Reformed and Lutheran Churches, four Confederated Reformed and Lutheran Churches in Germany.§ These statistics show that there are more Reformed outside of the union than in it. One of our American professors said some years ago that there was no Reformed church any more in Germany, that all had gone into the union. He simply displayed his ignorance. These statistics prove him wrong, as do the Minutes of the Reformed Conference held at Marburg in 1884.

* Some place it as high as a million and a half.

† See next chapter for detailed statistics.

‡ See Berlin Reformed Kirchenzeitung, August 19, 1884.

§ See Homiletic Review, July, 1894, p. 4.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION III.

OPPRESSIONS OF THE REFORMED BY THE UNITED CHURCH.

The Reformed were hardly in the union before the Lutheran majority began to oppress them. The first act was to take away the Reformed universities, which were either given up or merged in the union universities, so that where the Reformed used to have eight universities (Marburg, Heidelberg, Herborn, Duisburg, Frankford on the Oder, Berg-Steinfurt, Lingen and Bremen), they now have none, if we may except only the French gymnasium at Berlin, which is intended only for French students, so as to supply the French churches of Brandenburg with ministers. There is only one Reformed theological professorship in Germany, namely at Erlangen, although there are some theological professors who are Reformed in their sympathies, as Achelis in Marburg* and Sieffert at Bonn ; but these are not Reformed professorships, so their successors may be Lutherans. The chair of Reformed theology at Strasburg, held by Krauss, has not been filled. Because the Reformed universities were taken

* Achelis, however, is a Ritschlian—their leader in pastoral theology. Against him and his colleagues at Marburg the Reformed superintendent of Hesse has just nobly issued his protest.

away, very soon the Reformed congregations could not be supplied with Reformed pastors, and had to take Lutherans or Evangelicals. Their plan was, for these Lutherizing ministers to gradually introduce Luther's catechism, instead of the Heidelberg, and the Lutheran cultus, as altars, responses, etc., instead of the simple Reformed worship. Thus the Lutherans in the union hoped to absorb the Reformed. Of course all this was contrary to the understanding that the Reformed had of the union, for in it they were guaranteed their creed and cultus by law.

Several cases of ecclesiastical oppression have been especially noticeable. In Halle the Union was not introduced until 1830, when the United consistory, finding the Reformed congregation unwilling to enter the Union, brought pressure to bear on them, and on June 25 forced them to use the Prussian liturgy with its altar, Scripture lessons and recitation of the creed, all of which had never been used by the Reformed there. The Reformed felt this so great an injustice that the reaction against it ultimately prepared for the formation of the present conference of the province of Saxony.

The oppression at Elberfeld proved more serious. The Reformed congregations of Berg for about a century and a half had not used a liturgy, when the Prussian government ordered them to use its liturgy, with its candles, altars and the making of the sign of the cross at the benediction. All of these things seemed to the staunch Re-

formed of Elberfeld to be Romanizing. They bravely refused to accept them, until the commissioner of the government threatened the ministers with a deposition, which he held in his pocket ready for use. So the congregation was compelled to use the liturgy, although the government finally permitted them to leave out the parts in it most objectionable, as the responses, for the Reformed of Germany have no responses. But a large and influential part of the Reformed at Elberfeld abstained from going to church or to communion, and did not have their children baptized or confirmed. Time did not heal the breach. So these Reformed, who were dissatisfied with the liturgy, formed themselves into a separate congregation and called Kohlbrügge. As they did not wish to be considered separatistic, they allied themselves with the Reformed Church of Holland, and accepted, in addition to the Heidelberg Catechism, the Belgic Confession and the Canons of Dort, although they used the German Reformed hymn book. The congregation has been noted for its strict adherence to the Reformed confessions and for its Church discipline and charity.

These oppressions were followed by others in Eastern Germany, where the Reformed were few and weak. The United consistory of Silesia tried to make the Reformed ministers take their oath of ordination on the Lutheran creeds. But the Reformed appealed to the upper consistory at Berlin, and gained their case. Then this Silesian

consistory separated the branch Reformed congregations from their mother Churches, and put them under the care of neighboring Lutheran pastors. Up to 1830 the Reformed had an inspector named Wunster. When he died, the Silesian consistory refused to appoint a successor. The Reformed appealed to the upper consistory at Berlin, and the Silesian consistory finally appointed Wunster's brother superintendent of a district in the United Church, but not a Reformed inspector. Thus they paved the way for having no Reformed official at all when he died. They even forbade the Reformed of the Bohemian churches there to use the Heidelberg Catechism in their own language. All this prepared the way for a climax of oppression ; for oppression, if left to itself, will run riot ultimately. The Reformed congregation at Breslau in Silesia had had its Reformed confession guaranteed to it by the Berlin upper consistory, when it entered the Union ; but in spite of this a Lutheran minister named Falk became one of its pastors in 1839, as he said he believed the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper. He soon, however, showed his Lutheran sympathies. He introduced wafers instead of bread, and the Reformed school had to use the Lutheran catechism. He tried to get Lutherans to join the church, so that he might gain the majority in the congregation and carry it into the United Church. Finally he resigned in 1855. Then Gillet, the other Reformed pastor of the congrega-

tion, published a book entitled "Falk's Farewell Sermon and its History," in which he unveiled many oppressions of the Reformed in Silesia. But for his plain statements of the facts a civil charge was brought against him of slandering a fellow minister. He was brought before the court and ordered to pay a fine of \$250 and be imprisoned two months. This was afterwards reduced to \$75 and ten days imprisonment. Thus this excellent man, for stating the truth and defending the rights of the Reformed, had to suffer martyrdom.

Anhalt reveals a similar history for the control of the Reformed. The Union had been introduced into Anhalt Dessau and Anhalt Bernburg, but not into Anhalt Cothen till 1880. Having at last gained control of all these duchies of Anhalt, the Lutheran ministers in the Union have just decided (1892) to supercede the Heidelberg Catechism by the Lutheran. Thus the Reformed catechism is ordered out of a land, where formerly it was used by two-thirds of the population.

Even in Reformed organizations not in the Union, efforts were made to proselyte them over to the Lutherans. Thus in 1850 Vilmar, a prominent Reformed minister, and Hassenpflug, the civil prime minister, tried to make it appear that the Reformed Church of Hesse was a pseudo-Reformed Church (that is, a Melancthonian Church), and that the official creed of Hesse-Cassel was the Augsburg Confession, and not the Heidelberg Cate-

chism. But a Church that had been for more than two hundred and fifty years rated as Reformed, could not be made Lutheran without friction. The protests against this effort were led by Professor Heppe, who declared that the Landgrave Maurice made the Church Reformed in 1604; that the Heidelberg Catechism was officially sanctioned, by the school orders of 1656, 1726 and 1777, as a symbolical book in the schools in 1719; that Landgrave Charles took sides as a Reformed Prince against the oppressions of the Reformed in the Palatinate, and called Professor Kirchmeier to Marburg, because he was so zealous in the Reformed faith; besides, the Cassel consistory in 1834, when orthodoxy began to gain power again over the receding Rationalism, ordered the Heidelberg Catechism to be reintroduced into the schools. Vilmar attacked these views, and even went so far as to show personal spite against Heppe, as by using his influence against Heppe's appointment as professor of Reformed theology at Vienna, and delaying his appointment as professor at Marburg. The faculty of Marburg gave an opinion (1855), stating that the Hessian Church was a Reformed Church. The result of this unfortunate controversy was that Vilmar gained quite a following among the ministers in Hesse-Cassel, but the Reformed organized a conference at Treysa to protect themselves.

Other oppressions that came in under the guise of the union and peace might be noticed, had we time. Thus

the French gymnasium at Berlin was endowed for the Reformed, and yet Luther's catechism has been used in it again and again. A number of Reformed endowments have been perverted. The *Mons Pietatis* endowment (\$75,000) given by King Frederick I. in 1696 for needy Reformed refugees, has been used for the United Church, and not for the Reformed, for whom it was intended. The result of all these unjust continuous oppressions has been greatly to the injury of the Reformed. Where there used to be 300,000 Reformed south of the Main river in Western Germany, there are now only 3000. In Nassau, as in Anhalt, the Reformed consciousness is gone. In Westphalia there are only 70 congregations, where there used to be 110. And how often has the Lutheran catechism forced out the Heidelberg, and Lutheran altars, crucifixes and responses, etc., come in to take the place of the simple Reformed service. The Palatinate, the birth-place of the Reformed Church in Germany, does not know her any more. It looked as if the Reformed Church would be swallowed up in the Union and be lost.

CHAPTER III.

THE REVIVAL OF REFORMED CONSCIOUSNESS.

The ecclesiastical oppressions have caused a reaction among the Reformed into Confessionalism. They saw that the Lutheran majority in the Union was using the Union as a means to wipe out the Reformed. They, therefore, felt that they must do something to save themselves, and so they began taking steps to demand their rights, namely equality of confessions and cultus with the Lutherans. This revival of Reformed consciousness may be said to have begun in 1850 at the diet of the United Church held at Stuttgart, when twenty-eight of the Reformed gathered together and discussed the dying condition of the Reformed. It was decided to start a Reformed Church paper, and so the *Reformirte Kirchenzeitung* began its existence. The Reformed also began publishing, 1861, the excellent series of books entitled "The Fathers and Founders of the Reformed Church." The Lutherans had published their "Fathers of the Church," and the Reformed felt their own reformers were just as worthy of remembrance. This series is an excellent monument to the fathers of the sixteenth century by their children of the nineteenth. The Reformed began hold-

ing conferences. Thus the Hanoverian Church held a conference at Lingen, July 13, 1853, to agitate the rights of the Reformed of Hanover, and the General Synod of Hanover may be said to be the ultimate result of all this. The Reformed Synod of East and West Prussia began holding regular sessions in 1853. A Reformed conference was held at Elberfeld, 1858, and at Emden, 1859. A large conference was held at Detmold, July 8, 1863, on the jubilee of the publication of the Heidelberg Catechism. The fifth and last of these conferences was held at Elberfeld, 1867. The interest in the movement to revive the Reformed consciousness seemed to have passed away by 1867. The *Kirchenzeitung* was the only Reformed paper then in Germany. It looked as if the Reformed Church would die out.

But in 1877 twenty members gathered together at Elberfeld and founded a new *Reformirte Kirchenzeitung*, to take the place of the old one published at Detmold by Theleman. A publication society was formed at Barmen and a Reformed association at Hanover. Another sign of reviving consciousness was the reintroduction of the Heidelberg Catechism into churches from which Rationalism had driven it out. Finally the fourth centennial of Zwingli's birth, in 1884, led a number of prominent Reformed to call a conference at Marburg, Aug. 19, 1884. At this the only place in Germany that Zwingli was linked to his adherents, they determined to make a

new start. There, where Zwingli had offered his hand to Luther, so as to unite, they determined to unite among themselves. This they did by forming a Reformed Alliance (Bund). This Reformed Alliance, under the presidency of Rev. Dr. F. Brandes of Bückeburg, and with Rev. H. Calaminus of Elberfeld as secretary, has held several meetings since then; the last one at Emden in 1893, where it reported its membership had grown to two Synods (Bavaria and Prussia), one consistory (Strasburg) and twenty-nine individual congregations, making, with those in the Synod, fifty-five in all. Besides these, there are about fifteen different Reformed societies in it, and also about 1500 individual members. Though so young an organization, it has shown a healthy growth, especially when the great odds against it are considered. It has not merely drawn the Reformed together and prevented them from further disintegrating, but it has also developed a number of activities. It has held local conferences, recommended new Reformed books, aided weak Reformed congregations with money, notably the Reformed church at Osnabruck, for whose endowment it raised \$15,000. It is now aiming to build a Reformed church in Berlin. The Reformed Alliance has fostered new theological seminaries, so as to provide the Reformed congregations with Reformed ministers. Two of these seminaries are at present in operation, one at Berlin under Rev. Mr. Hapke, and the other at Halle under the head care of Rev. Mr.

Göbel, pastor of the cathedral there. The Reformed are also talking of starting another theological seminary at Elberfeld, and although the government has refused to grant their request for it, it is probable they will go ahead and endow it themselves.

Another cheering sign is the increasing number of church papers. Where there was only one in 1876, there now are eleven.* The granting of a Synod to the Reformed of Hanover, and lately the permission to the Reformed of Hesse Darmstadt to have their Heidelberg Catechism, greatly encouraged the Reformed, and they are now demanding their rights for the interest of the *Mons Pietatis* endowment. We trust that the Reformed Alliance will gradually prepare the way, as providence leads, for some organization among the Reformed of Germany like the unofficial Synod of the French Reformed Church.

For it certainly would be a sad day for the United Church of Germany, as well as for the Reformed, if the Reformed were to die out. For she needs the Reformed element in her, as well as the Lutheran. D'Aubigne, in

* The *Wochen-Blatt* at Elberfeld, *Reformirte Kirchenzeitung* of Müller at Berlin, *Neue Reformirte Kirchenzeitung* at Berlin, *Die Colonie* at Berlin, *Der Grenzboten* in East Friesland, *Sonntagsblatt* in Lippe, *Geschichts-Blätter des Deutschen Hugenotten Vereins* at Magdeburg, *Der Einige Trost* in Hanover, *Der Pilger* at Barmen. Of these Müller's *Kirchenzeitung* is the organ of the Reformed Alliance, the *Geschichts-Blätter* the organ of the Huguenot Society of Germany, and *Die Colonie* of the Huguenots of Berlin. An excellent popular paper for Church members is *Der Einige Trost*.

his eloquent address at the Church Diet of 1863, said that "he feared an excess of the Lutheran spirit—the increase of the traditional, ceremonial, hierarchical element against the freer, believing Reformed Church. The passivity of the Lutheran Church must be moulded by the activity of the Reformed." The president of the Brandenburg Synod, Von Achenbach, said in that Synod, October 27, 1890: "I fear that a part of the members of our Synod and Church are inclined too much to the Episcopal Church government. If this is carried out, large districts cannot remain in the Church. I can not guarantee for myself, if this trend in the United Church toward sacramentarianism and High Churchism is not stopped." Not Bismarck, but one of his successors, may yet have to go to Canossa to bow before the Pope, if the High Churchism in the United Church is not counterbalanced by something. The power to counteract this lies only in the Reformed Church. Her Calvinism, like its founder, has always been the bitterest foe of the Pope. The simple service of the Reformed is a perpetual safeguard against Romanizing tendencies. Tollin, in his *History of the Reformed of Magdeburg*, tells the story that the King of Prussia once sent a cross to one of the Reformed congregations in the Mark Brandenburg. The minister, greatly appreciating the kindness of the King, placed it on the communion table (for altar they had none). But when the Reformed people came into the church for service, they were so

greatly surprised at the innovation, that the elders came to the minister and told him that it must be put away, as it was not Reformed. What could the poor minister do? To leave it in the church would be to disobey his people, but to take it away would be to disobey his King. But the elders persisted and declared that they would not come to service as long as it was there, and they did not. Finally the minister compromised matters by putting it in the anteroom, which was used by the minister, and then the congregation come back to the service. In view of this it is evident that the United Church herself needs the Reformed within herself to counterbalance the tendencies to sacramentarianism. The continued existence of the Reformed Church is therefore as necessary to the welfare of the United Church as to herself. Calvin, it is said, once saved Germany from the danger of coquetting with Rome at Ratisbon, and Calvin's adherents may yet be needed to preserve Germany from making a similar mistake. Germany must be saved from Rome at all hazards, for she is the citadel of Protestantism in Europe. Let Germany be lost, and Europe will be lost to Protestantism. In this great mission of preserving Germany for Protestantism and from Rome the Reformed Church is needed.

Germany and the United Church also need the Reformed Church against Rationalism, as much as against Romanism. The emphasis that the Reformed have laid

on grace and salvation by grace, has made it the opposite of salvation by works or by the reason. It has emphasized man's depravity against the Hegelian idea of man's goodness. Its doctrine of divine sovereignty is needed against the rationalistic doctrine of man's sovereignty. Its emphasis on experience and continual tendency to Pietism is the best corrective to Rationalism. Thus the Reformed Church is still needed in Germany, that that great and noble land may be protected from Rationalism on the one hand and Romanism on the other, and be able to do greater things in the future for God than ever she has done in the past. We trust she will yet exert a most benign influence on the future history of the fatherland.

BOOK VII.

CONCLUSION.

CHAPTER I.

STATISTICS.

We have thus completed the history of the Reformed Church of Germany.* It only remains to speak of the position and condition of the Reformed Church of Germany. Into the cultus of the Church we have not time to enter, for our book has already greatly exceeded its intended limits. Moreover, the cultus is treated quite fully in the "Origin of the Reformed Church of Germany.† For the position we there took, that altars were not Reformed, we were attacked by the esteemed editor of the *Reformed Church Review*. We have examined and are ready to quote twenty Church orders or Synodical actions of the various Reformed Churches of Germany and Switzerland, and sixteen Reformed Church historians (and are prepared to quote them, if necessary), to show that

* "The Origin of the Reformed Church of Germany" gives the history down to 1620, and this book completes it.

† Page 445.

the Reformed had only a communion table, and not an altar. They are the Palatinate, Emden, Bremen, Brandenburg, Bentheim, Tecklenburg, Anhalt-Bernburg, Anhalt-Cothen, Baireuth (French), Hanau, Frankford, Solms, Braunfels, Siegen, Nassau-Dillenburg, Nassau-Dietz, Lippe, London (Lasco), Hesse, Wesel, Julich, Cleve, Berg and Rhenish province Church orders.* Sixteen of the leading Church historians bear the same testimony—Steubing, Cuno, Herzog, Heppe, Zahn, Clemen, Haussér, Gœbel, Wolters, Hering, Treviranus, Ebrard, Tollin, E. Krummacher and Calminus. Since all these men, Synods, Church orders, liturgies and countries agree on this point, we cannot but be fully convinced that the Reformed Church of Germany never recognized altars. These reveal that there is only one answer of history, and that is that altars in Reformed churches are un-Reformed. Such unanimous testimony ought to be heeded by those in the Reformed Church of the United States who are trying to bring in the altar and altar service. In doing so they are not true to the historic position of the Reformed Church.

We have only space to present the statistical and doctrinal position of the Reformed Church. Its adherents are as follows :

* We have space for only a few of them in the Appendix. We will publish them in full in the second edition of the "Origin of the Reformed Church."

IN THE UNION.

East and West Prussia,	.	.	18,183
Pomerania,	.	.	2,720
Brandenburg,	.	.	16,000
Silesia,	.	.	6,150
Posen,	.	.	5,100
Rhine Provinces,	.	.	247,567
Westphalia,	.	.	80,000
Grand Duchy of Hesse,	.	.	68,286
Total,	.	.	444,006

OUTSIDE OF THE UNION.

Hanover,	.	.	108,000
Hesse-Cassel,	.	.	381,652
Bavaria,	.	.	3,000
Lippe,	.	.	114,169
Bremen,	.	.	42,637
Alsace,	.	.	49,919
Lower Saxony,	.	.	11,000
Province of Saxony,	.	.	11,796
Hamburg,	.	.	8,221
Oldenburg,	.	.	1,443
Lubeck,	.	.	500
Butzow,	.	.	150
Kingdom of Saxony (Leipsic, etc.),	.	.	7,600
Frankford,	.	.	7,350
Netherlands Church of Elberfeld,	.	.	1,300
Free Reformed Church of East Friesland,	.	.	2,261
Total,	.	.	750,998

CHAPTER II.
ITS DOCTRINAL POSITION.—IS IT MELAN-
THONIAN OR CALVINISTIC?

SECTION I.

THE PHRASE "MELANTHONIAN-CALVINISTIC."

This question, whether the Reformed Church is Melancthonian or Calvinistic, has come up since the union of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches in Germany. Some of the unionists have tried to prove that the Reformed Church of Germany was different from other Reformed Churches, by being a Melancthonian Church. Perhaps, feeling the unsafety of their position, they have modified it somewhat by saying that it is Melancthonian-Calvinistic.

But this phrase, Melancthonian-Calvinistic, cannot be a description of the Reformed, for it means a contradiction—a union of opposites, which of course is meaningless. As well might one mix oil and water, light and darkness, as mix Melancthonianism and Calvinism. Does this phrase refer to *doctrine*, then at once they are in most direct conflict. For Melancthonianism was synergistic, holding that man co-operates with God at regenera-

tion, while Calvin was most decidedly monergistic, namely that regeneration is God's act, and not man's at all. These then can't be put together, for either God does it alone, or he does not. To say that He does it alone, as Calvinism says, and then say in the same breath that he does it with God, as Melancthonianism says, makes the one contradict and neutralize the other, so that Melancthonian-Calvinism is a meaningless term. Again, on the Lord's Supper they do not agree, as Melancthon's own words show. Melancthon, returning from Worms, declared to the minister Baier: "We agree with the French on all points except the Supper." Calvin translated Melancthon's *Loci Communes*, although in doing so he taxes him with deviations.*

Does the phrase Melancthonian-Calvinism refer to *cultus*, then again it means a union of opposites, and so cannot be. Calvin's followers cast out of the churches images, pictures, altars, etc., and he remonstrated with Melancthon at Hagenau and Worms that the Lutherans allowed too many relics of Papacy, as Latin singing, images, exorcism, etc. Over against this, Melancthon aided to prepare the Leipsic Interim, which sanctioned many of these very Romish forms, and for it Calvin attacked him. Melancthon, therefore, was of all the Lutherans the most indifferent to these semi-Romish rites, while Calvin was of all the Reformed most bitter

* Schweitzer Central Dogmen, Vol. I., p. 388.

against them. If this is true, the phrase Melancthonian-Calvinism is meaningless, as it involves contradiction.

If then the Reformed Church of Germany is not Melancthonian-Calvinistic, she must be either Melancthonian or Calvinistic. The view that she has been Melancthonian, has been presented by Heppe and Schaff. Heppe* distinguishes between the Genevan and the German Calvinism on four points: (1) With Calvin and Beza the purpose of the whole predestination is the glory of God, with the Germans the assurance of salvation for the believers; (2) the first start with the eternal decree, the latter with the human act; (3) to the first the work of Christ is only the execution of the decrees already established, to the latter it is the basis of salvation; (4) according to the first all divine action is only for the elect (particularism), according to the latter for all (universalism).

Perhaps the best way to answer Heppe, is to quote him against himself. In his Reformed Dogmatics† he says of Reformed Dogmatics: "Its highest end is the *glory of God*, its subordinate end the salvation of the *elect*." This is against his, (1) because it sides with what he says are Calvin's views, and against (4) because it speaks of the salvation only of the elect. Again he says on the same page, "As a part of fallen humanity is saved

* History of German Protestantism, Vol. II., p. 43.

† Page 111.

from eternal damnation, the redemption and the entrance of this part into eternal blessedness is *based upon the eternal decree*, by virtue of which the Son promised to make satisfaction for *a part of humanity*, which promise the Father accepted by decreeing to give a *certain part* of the human race to the Son, and to *awaken this part through the Holy Ghost* to a living participation of the righteousness and holy life of Christ." This is against his (2), because it makes the eternal decree of God the basis; is against his (3), because it makes the satisfaction of Christ the execution of the decree; and against (4), because it says Christ made satisfaction for only a part of the human race. If Heppe is right in his history, he is not Reformed in theology, for he agrees with Calvin on these points.

Rev. Dr. Schaff* gives the following differences: "(1) The Calvinist makes the abstract decree the source of the incarnation, and the Church simply a means to salvation, while the latter derives it from the person of Christ, who in His divine nature is older than the decrees; (2) Calvinism teaches a double eternal decree—a reprobation, as well as an election—and thus necessarily limits the atonement to a part of the human race. While the German Reformed Church passed over the decrees in silence and extends the divine offer to the whole world. In this respect all the Reformed evangelical divines of the age (Schweitzer excepted) are fully agreed. Lange, Heppe,

* German Universities, page 394.

Hundeshagen, Schenkel, Hagenbach, Herzog, Sudhoff and F. W. Krummacher, as well as Ebrard, reject the supralapsarian and in some sense the infralapsarian scheme of predestination." In reply to his first argument, that divine salvation is from the person of Christ, which is older than the decrees, we reply that the person of Christ was not older than His incarnation. Although the divine nature was older than the incarnation, yet the human person was no older than the incarnation. Dr. Schaff, who was usually careful, has confused strangely the person (divine-human) of Christ with the second person of the trinity. The person of Christ was not older than the incarnation. And if He was not the result of a decree, then He must have come by chance. But no one will grant this. So the incarnation must have come from some purpose or decree of God away back in eternity, and so the person of Christ depended on the decree. If Dr. Schaff was building his theology on that, he was building it on falsity. As to his second argument we are very much surprised to find him quoting, to prove this view, Sudhoff as not infralapsarian, when any one who has read his writings, knows he is; and F. W. Krummacher, who was attacked by Lange for his High Calvinism, and Schenkel, who was a Rationalist; while Lange and Hagenbach represent the mediating theology, and not the Reformed, according to the best historians of theology, as Dorner and Kahnis, etc.

But what says history? The way to settle this matter is by the testimony of Reformed Church history.

We will examine this subject more at length, looking at it (1) historically, (2) as to the creeds, (3) as to their authors, (4) how did the Reformed interpret these creeds? and (5) what did the universities say?

From these we will be able to see what the theological position of the Reformed Church of Germany was.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION II.

THE TESTIMONY OF HISTORY.

If the Reformed Church of Germany is Melancthonian, then the following historical facts must be explained, because they show that the Melancthonians rejected the Heidelberg Catechism :

(a) If the Reformed Church was Melancthonian, why did the university of Wittenberg take action against the Heidelberg Catechism in 1572?* That university was full of Melancthonians then. Its rector was Peucer, Melancthon's son-in-law. Its professors were some years after driven away, just because they were Melancthonians. If any one knew what Melancthonianism was, they did. And yet those who occupied the centre of Melancthonianism reject the Heidelberg Catechism. How could they do this, if it were Melancthonian?

(b) If it were Melancthonian, why did the Melancthonians of Hesse come out so decidedly against the Heidelberg Catechism? For if any land was Melancthonian, it was Hesse under Landgrave Phillip and his son Landgrave William. And yet the Hessian theologians at the

* Reformed Kirchenzeitung of Germany, 1869, page 164. Kluckhohn "How Frederick III. of the Palatinate became Calvinist," pages 99-100.

Synod of Marburg, 1563, refused the catechism, because they could not agree with its doctrine.* The opinion of the Hessian theologians sent to the Diet of Augsburg, 1566, where Frederick was to be tried for his catechism, was adverse to the catechism. Now if the catechism was Melancthonian, why all this opposition from Melancthonians?

(c) The leading Melancthonian prince of Germany was Landgrave Phillip of Hesse. He had become Protestant through Melancthon's influence. And yet he in 1564 wrote to Duke Christopher of Wurtemberg against the position of Elector Frederick III. in his Heidelberg Catechism. Indeed, he went so far as to go to Heidelberg, although an old man, so as to warn Frederick against this new catechism that he was foisting on the world.† Now if the catechism was Melancthonian, why did Melancthonian princes and theologians come out thus against it? We thus see that the Melancthonians did not consider it Melancthonian, and they certainly knew what Melancthonianism was, better than we at this distant date.

(d) If the catechism was Melancthonian, why did the Palatinate pass through such a revolution of cultus as she did, when the Reformed faith was introduced in 1563? Why were altars, crucifixes and pictures put out of the churches? Why wafers put away and bread introduced?

* Klemme, *Entstehung des Heidelberg Katechismus*, page 22.

† Kluckhohn, *Frederick der Fromme*, page 147.

Why organs closed and fonts put away? The Palatinate had been Melancthonian under the previous Elector; why all this change, if the new catechism was Melancthonian? The only explanation is, that the catechism was not Melancthonian.

(e) If the catechism was Melancthonian, why was there such a revolution in Hesse, also a Melancthonian land, when the Reformed faith was introduced? Pictures were put out of the churches, wafers gave place to bread, and matters came to a riot at Marburg in 1605 against the Reformed. If the Heidelberg Catechism was Melancthonian, as the people had been before, why all this strife and change? The only answer is, that it must have been different from previous Melancthonianism.

(f) Why did the same thing occur in Anhalt, Lippe, Nassau, all of them originally Melancthonian lands? And yet when the Heidelberg Catechism was introduced, there was a complete change in cultus. Altars were put away; so were pictures, wafers, etc. Now if the Heidelberg Catechism and the Reformed Church were Melancthonian, what cause can be given for such changes? The fact that the Reformed Church required such changes showed that she was something other than the previous Melancthonianism, namely, that she was Calvinistic.

(g) Why did the Synod of Dort adopt the catechism? That Synod was especially sensitive to anything that savored in the least of Arminianism, and would have

noticed the first spec of the synergism of Melancthon, if it had been in the catechism, for that subject was a burning question then. And yet, on the contrary, it adopted the catechism as "an exact compendium of orthodox Christian doctrine."

These are some of the historical facts that bear against the idea that the Reformed Church and the Heidelberg Catechism are Melancthonian. They must be explained before it can be said that the Reformed Church is Melancthonian. It does not seem to us that they can be explained away. They stand as sign-boards that the Reformed Church was something other than Melancthonian, namely Calvinistic.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION III.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE CREEDS.

The main creed was the Heidelberg Catechism. We will notice first where the catechism is against Melancthon, and then where it agrees with Calvin.

(a) Against Melancthon's synergism—his most characteristic doctrine (the co-operation of man with God at regeneration and conversion)—stand answer 5 ("I am prone by *nature* to *hate* God and my neighbor"), and answer 8 ("Indeed we are, *except we are regenerated* by the Spirit of God"). And answer 13 shows that this inability increases ("we daily *increase* our debt"). The catechism, therefore, repudiates Melancthon's most prominent doctrine and accepts its opposite. Evidently it is not Melancthonian here.

(b) The eightieth answer repudiates the Romish mass and calls it "an accursed idolatry." This is against Melancthon's position in the Leipsic Interim, which allowed the use of mass. But the catechism is most severe here against what he allowed. It will listen to no compromises with Rome, as he did.

(c) On the use of pictures in churches, answers 96—98 are against Melancthon. For he considered them as

unimportant things. But the catechism evidently does not consider them unimportant, but most emphatically forbids them.

(d) It disagrees (Answer 81) with him when it speaks on the doctrine that the impenitent eat Christ's body and blood at the Supper; for it says only those who receive it by faith, receive benefit.

These are some of the disagreements of the catechism with Melancthon. They are fundamental disagreements. They are direct opposites of Melancthon's positions, and cannot be made to square with them.

Again, while the catechism is not Melancthonian, it is on the other hand Calvinistic. This is proved by the following reasons:

(a) It teaches predestination. In answer 26 it speaks of "the eternal counsel of God." What does this mean but God's decree? In answer 31 it speaks of "the secret will of God concerning our redemption." Also in question 52 it speaks of all "the chosen ones." (The word in the original German is *Auserwählten*. The German word for election is *Erwählung*, from which *Auserwählen* is derived. The word used in our catechism is therefore stronger than election—it literally means elected out of, or from among. If this does not mean election, what does it mean? It means not merely electing, but electing *out of*.) It is true, the catechism does not mention reprobation, or the negative side of election, nor is it to be

expected that such a popular theological book would take up such an abstruse doctrine. But if the silence of the catechism on reprobation is a sign that the Heidelberg Catechism is not Calvinistic, then Calvin's own catechism is not Calvinistic, for it does not mention reprobation either.

(b) On another of the peculiar points of Calvinism, the perseverance of the saints, the catechism is very pronounced. Answer 1 says, "And so *preserves* me that all things must work together for my salvation." Answer 51 says, "He defends and *preserves* us against all enemies." Answer 31 says, "Defends and *preserves* us in the redemption obtained for us. The Holy Ghost shall *abide* with me *forever*." And Answer 54 says: I "am and *forever remain* a living member of the Church."

(c) On the doctrine of the descent into hell, the 44th Answer clearly commits the catechism to Calvin. For it explains that doctrine in the figurative sense, which is peculiar to Calvin.

(d) On the power of the keys (Answer 85) it is clearly Calvinistic. Melancthonianism knew nothing of Church discipline. It was Calvin and his followers, who were strong on Church discipline. This catechism, in emphasizing this doctrine, shows itself Calvinistic.

(e) On the ten commandments the catechism follows Calvin, and not Luther and Melancthon. For it does not combine the first and second commandments, as Melancthon and the Lutherans do, but it divides them, as

Calvin did. Again it does not put three commandments in one table, as Luther did, and seven in the other. But, like Calvin and Juda, it puts four in the first table and six in the second.

(f) On the Lord's Prayer it takes its position with Calvin. The Lutherans count seven petitions in the Lord's Prayer, while it, following Calvin, counts six.

(g) In its division of the catechism into fifty-two Sundays it follows Calvin, who had divided his catechism thus. The Lutherans did not divide their catechism by Sundays.

(h) On the Lord's Supper it is Calvinistic. It does not define Christ's body to be in, with and under the elements (Melancthonian), but they are outward signs and seals of inward spiritual communion with Christ. Answer 76 says, "to become more and more united to His sacred body *by the Holy Ghost*, who dwells both in Christ and in us, so that we, *though Christ is in heaven*, and we on earth," etc. It is the Holy Ghost who links us to Christ's humanity in heaven. The communion is spiritual, not bodily nor fleshly, which would be Capernaïtic.

For all these reasons the Heidelberg Catechism is evidently Calvinistic.

Take another creed, the Hessian creed. It, too, is Calvinistic, for it expressly insists on predestination. And to make it more severe on the Lutherans, it quotes in Article V. a part of Luther's own commentary on Romans, where he favors predestination :

“In the same way concerning the high mystery of eternal election, we believe and teach all that is written concerning it in the Bible. . . . And that we may explain ourselves more explicitly on this, we say that our confession is the same as Luther has stated in the Bible and in the epistle to the Romans, which thus reads: ‘In Rom. 9: 10, 11 Paul teaches concerning the eternal providence of God, from which, as its origin, is derived who shall believe and who shall not believe, be freed of his sin or be not freed, so that our salvation might altogether be taken out of our hands, and be placed in the hands of God. And this is most necessary, for we are so weak and uncertain, that if it should depend on us, indeed no man would be saved. Satan would most certainly overcome them all. But now, since God is certain that His plans will not fail Him, nor any one can hinder them, we would yet hope against sin.’ Thus Luther, and this is exactly our confession of this mystery of eternal election, and no other.”

The Sigismund Confession of Brandenburg (*Confessio Marchica*) also teaches it:

“In the article of the eternal election or ordination to eternal life, the grace of his Electoral Highness recognizes and confesses that it is one of the most comforting articles, on which not only all the others, but also our salvation is pre-eminently founded—that namely the Almighty God, out of pure grace and mercy, without any respect to the worthiness of man, without all merit and work, before the foundation of the world was laid, has ordained and elected for eternal life all those who constantly believe on Christ, that He also knows and recognizes His own, and as He has loved them from eternity, also gives unto them, out of His mere grace, true faith and strong perseverance till the end, so that no one can pluck them out of the hand of God, and no one separate them from His love, and everything, be it good or evil,

must work together to His purpose. Thus God has also, according to His strict justice, passed by from eternity all those who do not believe in Christ, and has prepared for them eternal hellish fire. . . . Hence we also reject the opinion that God, on account of foreseen faith, has elected some, which would be Pelagian," etc.

Thus the other creeds, as well as the Heidelberg, prove the Reformed Church Calvinistic, and not Melancthonian. The creeds, therefore, of the Reformed Churches of Germany make her Calvinistic.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION IV.

THE TESTIMONY OF AUTHORS OF THE CREEDS.

Before we notice the theological views of the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism, we will notice a very important argument, namely, the materials which these authors used in composing the Heidelberg Catechism. It is remarkable that all the materials used were Calvinistic. Nowhere do we read of any Melancthonian creeds being used. The materials used were Leo Juda's and Bullinger's, Lasco's and Calvin's Catechisms, all of them Calvinistic. Olevianus declares that whatever good there is in it is due to the excellent Swiss scholars.* More than thirty questions (one-fourth of the catechism) show a direct quotation from Calvin's Catechism.† Lasco's Catechisms were extensively used. About sixteen answers are from his London Catechism. His Emden Catechism is followed by seventeen questions. The Heidelberg is like the Emden in arrangement, only different from it as it uses the law twice, as a mirror in Part I. and as a rule in Part III., whereas the Emden has it only once, at the beginning. Ursinus' Calvinistic position is proved by

* Sudhoff, Olevianus and Ursinus, page 483.

† Achelis' Practical Theology, page 233, and Herzog Encyclopædia, Vol. VII., page 611.

his Notes on the Heidelberg Catechism. He says,* "That there is such a thing as predestination or election and reprobation in God, is proven by these declarations of Scripture," etc. Then for ten pages he proves and discusses this doctrine. There is another very significant fact. Ursinus, before publishing the Heidelberg Catechism, published two catechisms of his own, which were the basis of the Heidelberg. It is very significant that he is stronger on predestination in them than he is in the Heidelberg. In his larger catechism, Questions 24, 25, 26, 27 and 18 have the Emden Catechism of Lasco for their basis, but there is this difference, that Ursinus is more pronounced on predestination than Lasco, for he asks the question, "Whence dost thou derive the hope of eternal life?" and answers it by saying, "From the covenant of grace, which God made anew with the *believers* in Christ." This limited atonement (for believers) differs from Lasco, who holds universal atonement. Ursinus also asks the question, "Is this grace offered to all men?" and answers, "By no means, but *only to those* whom God has eternally elected to eternal life." Calvin himself could not be more emphatic than Ursinus in his letter to Morian,† a Lutheran at Breslau. Again, his Calvinistic position is shown in his "Christian Admonition Concerning the Book of Concord." In the third part of this book he refutes false

* Williard's translation of Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism, page 293.

† Sudhoff, Olevianus and Ursinus, pages 614-633.

accusations brought against the doctrines of the Palatinate Church. As the third doctrine he takes up predestination.* He says here "that the free will of God is the effective cause of reprobation. But since we are children of wrath, we would all be lost, if sin were the cause of reprobation. This cause is, therefore, not in man, but it is that will in God which freely separates out of the mass of corruption those that are to be saved from those that are not to be saved." These extracts, together with his commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism, amply prove that he was predestinarian.

Olevianus also was a predestinarian, for he was a pupil of Calvin. He says :

"I believe in a Holy Catholic Church, because God has before *freely elected them* according to an *unchangeable decree* and given them to his Son Jesus Christ. John 17 : 9. After he has granted thus the most holy faith also to me, I believe that he also has graciously elected me, that I am given to His Son, and, therefore, can not be lost. For through the Gospel He executes *His immutable decrees of His election* by giving me the Holy Ghost through the Gospel for the service of the Word as a means which produces faith where and in whom He will. The fountain of our salvation is the *eternal, unchangeable decrees* of God, namely, that he accepts those to whom he has decreed to give faith as His children in His only begotten Son, but that he punishes others by His just judgment, *to whom He has not decreed to grant faith*. The first benefit of our faith is that our faith has a foundation which is firmer than the whole universe, namely, the *unchangeable decree* of God, without any conditions or works on our side.

* See Sudhoff, Olevianus and Ursinus, pages 441-447.

Again, Frederick III. was a Calvinist. This is abundantly proved by Kluckhohn in his work, "How Elector Frederick Became a Calvinist." He even shows the time when Frederick went over to the Calvinists, when he published the work of Erastus, "Gründlicher Bericht," in 1562.*

Thus the authors of the catechism were all Calvinistic. If they were Calvinistic, it is to be expected that the creed would be so too. A writer does not write other than he believes. If Olevianus and Ursinus had written a system other than they believed, they would not be worthy of our confidence and respect. No, as they were Calvinistic, it is to be expected that their creed is Calvinistic too, and so it is. And as the Reformed Church accepts Calvinistic creeds, it is to be expected that the Church is Calvinistic too.

* Kluckhohn, pages 130-131.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION V.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE CONFERENCES.

We have thus seen how the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism interpreted these creeds. Let us see how the Church itself, in the after ages, interpreted them. Did they keep up to the Calvinistic position of the authors? It has been said that the authors of the creeds were Calvinistic, but not their Church. We have two opportunities given us in the history of the Church, to show what the Reformed believed. These were the conferences with the Lutherans, and these are very significant. Here, if anywhere, would appear their doctrinal position. In them they speak officially for the Church, and in a measure commit the Church to the doctrines enunciated there. Did they reveal that the Reformed were Melancthonian or Calvinistic? Now the remarkable fact is that in both these conferences they differ from the Lutherans in the doctrine of election. They thus commit the Reformed Church to Calvinism.

The first of these was held at Leipsic, 1631. In this conference some of the Reformed representatives, as Ber-
gius, were supposed to be low predestinarians (of the

Lasco or „universal atonement school). And yet here they differed from the Lutherans on predestination, by declaring their belief in the election of a particular number. They also held that God did not elect them because of foreseen faith, as the Lutherans held, but out of His own free grace, and that God reprobated the lost because of their sins.*

The second conference between the Reformed and Lutherans was held at Cassel in 1661. The Reformed representatives there were Swiss (where Calvinism was, if anything, higher than in Germany), but had been called to Marburg as professors after the Thirty Years' War. They had to meet here true Melancthonians in the professors of Rinteln. Do they agree with them? No; on the contrary they disagree with them, for they held to particular election, and denied that man had any ability to obey or aid the Gospel (as Melancthon said), and also denied that God cast any away, because He saw their unbelief. They thus emphasize their Calvinism over against the Melancthonianism.† Heppe says: "This conference revealed that the German peculiarity of the Hessian theologians was absorbed in predestinarian Calvinism."‡

* Hering's History of Union Efforts, Vol. I., p. 342; Herzog Encyclopædia, Vol. VIII. p. 547.

† Muncher's History of the Hessian Reformed Church, page 121.

‡ Herzog Encyclopædia, Vol. III., p. 155.

The theological position of the Reformed at these conferences has a very important significance. It reveals that on every occasion when they are placed, as a Church, before the world, they commit that Church to Calvinism. We can not see how the idea that Calvinism is the historic faith of the Reformed Church of Germany, can be avoided after all these arguments.

CHAPTER II.—SECTION VI.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

Another sign of the position of the Reformed Church comes from the universities. Where do the theologians of the Reformed Church stand? It is somewhat significant that the very first controversy about predestination broke out in Germany, when Zanchius, 1561, defended himself against Marbach, and, strange to say, the Marburg university supported him. Again the various delegates from Germany to the Synod of Dort all signed the articles of Dort. Evidently they agreed with those Calvinistic articles, or they never would have signed them, and they were the leaders of their Church in that day. During the Thirty Years' War, it has been said, the Reformed Church inclined to Union. And yet even here we find that her leading theologians, as Crocius of Marburg, Wendelin of Zerbst, Alting of Heidelberg, were Calvinists. After the Thirty Years' War the federal theology of Cocceius spread in Germany, until it became the prevailing type. Ebrard says: "Federalism so worked its way, that the ground idea of federalism was in the ascendent in the eighteenth century." Let us go the rounds of the Reformed universities, and see where they

stood on this question. The Reformed had six main universities—Marburg, Duisburg, Frankford on the Oder, Heidelberg, Herborn and Lingen, the Bremen and Berg-Steinfurt gymnasia having been given up. How did these universities, which trained and supplied the Church with ministers, stand on the question of Calvinism? Before entering upon the description of the universities, it will be necessary to notice that the Reformed Church of Germany, while it was Calvinistic, yet had various schools of Calvinism.* These schools were the Supralapsarian, Infralapsarian, Cocceian and Sublapsarian. All of these were held, although the third was the most prominent. And where Infralapsarianism and Cocceianism were held, the doctrine of predestination was taught not so much as a scholastic doctrine, as a practical one, so as to affect the life of the believer. Grace was emphasized, rather than God's sovereignty. The doctrine became a great source of comfort, in harmony with the prominent theme of the Heidelberg Catechism—comfort. The Saumur school, too, was not Melanthonian, because it held to universal atonement, for this was not a doctrine peculiar to Melanthon. Melanthon emphasized Synergism, while the Sublapsarians emphasized universality of the atonement. The doctrine was Lasco's, rather than Zwingli's, who held it at the same time Melanthon did.

There was a difference between the Synergism of Me-

* These have been described on page 319.

lancthon and the universal atonement of Lasco. The former emphasized the human side of redemption (man's act at conversion), the latter emphasized the divine side in redemption, (God's act in providing an atonement sufficient for all, regardless of Synergism or the co-operation of man). Even though no man co-operated in conversion, yet God's provision was sufficient for all men. The universality of the atonement then does not depend at all on man's act, as Synergism does. Universal atonement is Calvinistic, because it looked at redemption from the divine side, the universality depending not on man's purpose, but on God's. It did not depend on man's ability to grasp and aid it, as held by the Synergists, but entirely on God's willingness to provide a redemption. This universal atonement view is therefore far from Synergism.*

Marburg.

This was the most important Reformed university after Heidelberg had gone down under the Romanist rulers. After the Synod of Dort the Reformed Church of Hesse became more highly Calvinistic. Stein, who was one of its delegates to Dort, was so highly Calvinistic that he bitterly opposed the Remonstrants there. After him Pro-

* The writer of this book, as a pupil of Professor Henry B. Smith, of Union Seminary, is an adherent of Sublapsarian Calvinism. If he had any preference, he would have preferred to find the German Reformed Church predominantly holding this view. But he must confess that he has been surprised to find that the German Reformed Church was higher Calvinistic, although it included the Saumur school within itself.

fessor Eglin, a Swiss, was Calvinistic. Neuberger's popular dogmatics, "The Mirror of Faith," 1630, taught predestination.* The Cassel conference revealed the Hessian Church Calvinistic.† Vilmar mentions Crocius, Curtius, Stannarius, Hein, Duysing, Pauli, Andrea, Tileman, Gautier, L. C. Mieg, J. H. Hottinger, all as predestinarian. The great Professor J. C. Kirchmeier was a Cocceian.‡ Wittenbach was a Cocceian.§ Endeman (1679-89) followed Wittenbach, and his dogmatics reveal that he was a sublapsarian Calvinist. Arnoldi (1789-1830) followed him, used his dogmatics as a text book, and so must have been Calvinistic. These continued Calvinism in the university down to the Union (1822), except when it was influenced somewhat by Rationalism.

Herborn.

This university was Calvinistic. It was so, because it was closely allied politically with Holland, where Calvinism and orthodoxy continued long after Rationalism had affected Germany. Of the professors at Herborn, Olevianus was a predestinarian, so was his successor, Piscator. Alsted, its delegate to the Synod of Dort, was also a predestinarian, and signed the canons of Dort. The

* Heppes Beider Hessen, page 139, and Heppes in Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliographie, Vol. IV., page 600.

† Herzog Encyclopædia, Vol. III., page 155.

‡ Heppes Beider Hessen, page 294.

§ Heppes Beider Hessen, page 293.

university became Cocceian under Melchior,* and from that day it belonged to the Federal school. Lampe's theology was used for a long while, and was a text book. Professors Arnoldi and Schramm were Cocceians, as Cuno shows. Thus the general position of the university up to the time of the Union was Calvinistic.

Duisburg.

This university was Calvinistic, for it was located in an intensely Calvinistic district. Situated near Holland, it was largely affected by the neighboring Dutch universities, which were Calvinistic. Its first rector, Clauberg, was a Federalist. "In the second half of the seventeenth century most of the ministers of the Northern Rhine were Cocceian, and this school became in the eighteenth century the orthodox one."† Heppe says:‡ "The ruling theology at Duisburg was the Cocceian. This Calvinistic position was held by the university down to the end of the last century, when most of its professors became Rationalistic and the university was closed.

Frankford on the Oder.

Here, more than in any other university in Germany, one might expect to find Melancthonians, for it was the only university in Eastern Germany surrounded by Luth-

* Maurer History of Herborn High School, page 15.

† Goebel History of the Rhenish Westphalian Church, Vol. II., page 113.

‡ History of Evangelical Church of Cleve and Mark, page 187.

erans on every side, and besides, the house of Brandenburg had a great inclination toward union with the Lutherans. Whatever may be said of Pelargus, the first professor, Bergius, his associate and successor, was a sublapsarian Calvinist. The next professor, Bergius, became a higher Calvinist after he had visited Holland. Among the court preachers of the Elector, many of whom were professors, Calvinism appeared, as Cochius, and Bierman who was professor 1676-1717. The coming of the French Reformed into Brandenburg greatly affected the Reformed Church. "In the East of Prussia the French and Palatinate refugee congregations so overbalanced the few Reformed court churches there, which perhaps might falsely have been called Melancthonian, that the Reformed bore a prevailing Calvinistic character. What power it had on the Prussian court itself, is shown by the inclination of Frederick the Great to predestination."* Thus Beausobre in 1693 defends the doctrines of the Synod of Dort, and Naude was a supralapsarian and attacked Osterwald's Catechism. The father of Frederick the Great, although opposed to supralapsarian Calvinism, which turned man into a machine, was not opposed to the sublapsarian Calvinism of the school of Saumur. Sack, the court preacher of Frederick the Great, was a Cocceian.† Thus Calvinism was a prominent factor in

* *Kirchenzeitung* of Detmold, 1868, page 188.

† Life of Sack, by his son, page 75.

Frankford and in the Prussian Reformed Church. The university, however, was a small one.

Heidelberg.

The founders of the Protestant university there were Calvinists. Ursinus, Olevianus, Zanchius, Tossanus, Junius, Pareus were all strict Calvinists. They were followed by Scultetus and Alting, both high Calvinists. When the university was reopened after the Thirty Years' War, Spanheim was an infralapsarian, Hottinger inclined to the Saumur school, and Fabricius was a Cocceian. It bravely battled for the Heidelberg Catechism and its doctrines. However its theology does not appear very prominent, for its struggle was not for Calvinism, but for existence. Sometimes its faculty went down to one, as Heddeus in 1786. In the last century it was more prominent in Church history than in dogmatics, as Wundt and Buttinghausen publish their historical works.

Bremen.

This university continued only till 1750. Pezel, who organized the Bremen Reformed Church, was a Calvinist, as his catechism proves. Martinius, its delegate to the Synod of Dort, evidently was a Calvinist, for he signed the canons, although he believed in universal atonement. And Lewis Crocius became a more decided predestinarian later in life.* Combach, professor 1639-43, was a Cal-

* Life of John Crocius, by Klemme, page 17, note.

vinist, and so was Flockenius. But Calvinism gained full control in the days of Lampe and DeHase.

Lingen.

This university was a small one. It was the only university in Hanover, where there were only a few Reformed, although when the university of Bremen was given up, its attendance somewhat increased. As it was for a long time under the control of the Dutch, its professors sympathized with the Dutch Calvinistic position, and they were therefore predestinarian and Cocceian.

Berg-Steinfurt.

This gymnasium was closed so early that it need hardly be mentioned. After Vorstius, who was charged with Socinianism, its last professor, Heidegger, was a Calvinist, for he afterwards became one of the authors of the Helvetic Consensus of Switzerland.

From this brief review of the theologians and professors of the Reformed Church of Germany, it is evident that Calvinism was the prevailing type. To this Gœbel agrees, when he says that the prevailing type was Cocceian, whose most distinguished representative was Lampe.

These five strong arguments show that the historical position of the Reformed Church of Germany was not Melancthonian, but Calvinistic. Her history, her creeds, their authors, her conferences and her universities unite

to prove this. The number of the arguments, dovetailing one into the other, makes the testimony manifold stronger. The historic position of the Reformed Church of Germany then is Calvinism.

For these reasons we believe that the Reformed Church of Germany was not Melancthonian, but Calvinistic—that is, Calvinistic in the broad sense, as including all the different schools of Calvinism, yet all holding God's sovereignty as supreme. If, therefore, our Reformed Church in the United States would be true to the historic position of the Reformed Church, she must be Calvinistic. For it has been the rule of Church history, that when a Church leaves her historic moorings, she proves false to her founders, loses her right to separate existence (because she is not true to the principles for which she was founded), and generally begins to die. Let the Reformed Church in the United States be careful lest she leaves the old historic position of the Reformed Church.

Her Calvinistic position is emphasized by her first creed. The members of the Reformed Coetus of Pennsylvania, when under the care of the Reformed Church of Holland for about half a century, subscribed to five creeds.* "All ministers, elders, deacons and schoolmasters shall, upon entering on their respective offices, subscribe to the formula which has been received in the Palatinate: (1) The Heidelberg Catechism, (2) The Palatinate Confession of

* Jackson's New Dictionary of Religious Knowledge.

Faith, (3) The Canons of Dort, as approved by the Palatinate divines, as well as those of other nations, (4) The post acta of the Synod of Dort, (5) The Formula Consensus." This subscription makes our early Reformed Church in America highly Calvinistic. For it committed them not only to the Heidelberg Catechism, but also to the Canons of Dort, as subscribed to by the Palatinate divines. For the Palatinate divines at the Synod of Dort, led by Scultetus, were supralapsarians. And it not only commits them to the Canons of Dort, but also to the Formula Consensus, or Helvetic Consensus, of Switzerland, which was very high Calvinistic. This early subscription makes our Church high Calvinistic for her first half century in this new world. It would not have been possible, if our early ministers had been Melancthonian, for them to have adopted such high Calvinistic creeds. The Heidelberg Catechism, the present creed of the Church, is Calvinistic, as this chapter proves. Again, the first published theology of our Church in America was "The Doctrines of Divine Revelation," by Rev. Samuel Helffenstein, D. D. This dogmatics is Calvinistic, as he teaches both election and reprobation.* Dr. Helffenstein says in his preface that his doctrines were believed and taught by those sent over to this country from Germany. Again, the early Reformed ministers who came to this country were Calvinists. Harbaugh bears witness to this in his "Fathers of

* Pages 161-163.

the Reformed Church.”* There he says Boehm was Calvinistic. And he says that the Reformed in the Unity who sympathized with the Unionistic views of Zinzendorf, and afterwards broke off from our Church, attacked those who remained in the Church because of their Calvinism. Boehm, Weiss, Dorstius, Goetschey and others sympathized with Calvinism. We do not see that Schlatter could have been anything but a Calvinist, when his Coetus adopted those five Calvinistic creeds mentioned before. Besides, Schlatter came from Switzerland, when she was still strongly Calvinistic, for she was affected by Rationalism later than Germany. Switzerland was Calvinistic then, especially Northeastern Switzerland. (Zurich, Bern and the adjacent cantons remained Calvinistic long after Werenfels, A. Turretin and Osterwald led a reaction against it in the southern and western cantons.) He also studied in Holland when she was still Calvinistic, before Rationalism came in. The Dutch Reformed Church was still so Calvinistic that she would not have sent him to America, if he had not been a Calvinist. Of the early Reformed ministers, Rieger, Hochreutner, Bartholomæus and Stoever were Swiss, and that meant Calvinistic. The six young men whom Schlatter brought from Herborn, were trained as Calvinists, for that university was Cocceian, as Cuno has proved.

* Vol. I., page 320.

For these reasons the Reformed Church in the United States was born in Calvinism, nursed by Calvinistic Holland, and to it she should remain true. When she gives up her historic position (as agreed upon by the late Peace Commission of the General Synod), she will lose her adherence to her fathers, her right to exist as a separate denomination, and her hope for the future. For when a denomination swings from her historic position, what right has she to live? If she does not stand for the principles for which she was born, what does she stand for? Therefore, she generally begins to die.

We have told the story of her fathers in the Fatherland. May her sons prove themselves worthy of such ancestors and remain true to their principles. And may the great Head of the Church keep them faithful to the fathers and the creeds of the Reformed Church.

APPENDIX.

I.

NEANDER'S HYMN, "Himmel, Erde, Luft und Meer.

Heaven and earth and sea and air
All their Maker's praise declare ;
Wake, my soul, awake and sing,
Now thy grateful praises bring.

See the glorious orb of day,
Breaking through the clouds his way ;
Moon and stars, with silver light,
Praise Him through the silent night.

See how He hath everywhere,
Made this earth so rich and fair ;
Hill and vale, a fruitful land,
All things living show His hand.

See how through the boundless sky,
Fresh and free the birds do fly ;
Fire and wind and storm are still
Servants of His royal will.

See the water's ceaseless flow,
Ever circling to and fro ;
From its sources to the sea,
Still it rolls in praise to Thee.

Lord, great wonders workest Thou,
To Thy sway all creatures bow ;
Write Thou deeply in my heart,
What I am, and what Thou art.

II.

LAMPE'S HYMN, "Mein Leben ist ein Pilgerstand."

My life is but a pilgrim stand (state),
A traveler to my fatherland,
I seek the city with foundation,
Whose Builder, Maker is my God ;
And gaining there my blest abode,
Would ever sing His great salvation.
My life is here a pilgrim stand,
I'm traveling to my fatherland.

The hours of life's uncertain day
Haste on without a moment's stay ;
And when once gone, are gone forever,
They bear me to eternity.
Lord Jesus, give me eyes to see,
What'er I need to know, discover ;
Nor let earth's vain delusions hide
Thee from my sight, my only guide.

No journey is without its cares,
Life's journey, too, my spirit wears ;
It is not all a bed of roses,
The road is narrow, foes are strong,
And oft entice me to the wrong.
The tangled thorn my way opposes,
O'er trackless wilds I'm forced to go,
And groping, toil my passage through.

At times to me the sun is bright,
That sun outsheds its glorious light
Alone to bless the pure in spirit ;
Then comes the raging, roaring storm,
So loud, terrific its alarm,
So dark, I can not help but fear.
But when I think of joys above,
My terror yields its place to love.

Thou Jesus, once a pilgrim too,
Wilt prove Thyself a Helper true ;
Of all my anxious cries a hearer,
Thy warning word in mind I'll keep,

And by Thy guidance every step
Shall bring me to salvation nearer.
My life and strength are waning fast,
Lord, with Thy consolations haste.

That I may grow in holiness,
With stronger faith my spirit bless,
And thus of stumbling make me heedful ;
I daily fall, help me to rise,
And by each fall yet more to prize
Thy helping hand, so often needful.
While in this darkened soul of mine,
Thy beams of mercy brighter shine.

And while my heart, O God of Grace,
Shall faint with longing for Thy face ;
Prepare my will for Thy fruition,
Whene'er to earth my eyelids close.
May I with Thee enjoy repose,
Where sin and grief find no admission ;
Thy weary child bid thither come,
To live with Thee, a blissful home.

My lot is here with strangers thrown,
And by the world I'm little known ;
But there friends wait with joy to meet me,
And there with those I love the most,
I'll join in song the angel host,
Whose glories with their welcome greet me.
My Savior come, no more delay,
And thither bear my soul away.

—Translated by Dr. H. Mills.

III.

TERSTEEGEN'S HYMNS.

"Kommt, Kinder, Lasst uns gehen."

(It is translated thus :)

Come, children, let us onward,
Night comes without delay,
And in the howling desert
It isn't good to stay.
We are hasting on to heaven,
Strength for warfare will be given,
And glory won e'er long.

The pilgrim's path of toil
We do not fear to view.
We know His voice who calls us,
The faithful one and true.
Then let us well contend,
But strong in His almighty grace,
Come every one with steadfast grace
On to Jerusalem.

If we would walk as pilgrims,
We must not riches keep ;
Much treasure to have gathered
But makes the way more steep.
We march with laggard speed
Till every weight is cast aside,
Till with the little satisfied,
That pilgrimage can need.

Here all unknown we wander,
Despised on every hand ;
Unnoticed, save when slighted,
As strangers in the land.
Our joys we will not share,
Yet sing, that we may catch the song,
Of heaven and the happy throng
That now awaits us there.

Come, gladly let us onward
 Hand in hand still go,
 Each helping one another
 Through all the way below.
 One family of love,
 O let not voice of strife be heard,
 No discord by the angel guard
 Who watch us from above.

Soon, brothers, shall be ended
 The journey we've begun;
 Endure a little longer,
 The race will soon be run.
 And in the sight of rest,
 In yonder bright, eternal home,
 Where all the Father's loved ones come,
 We shall be safe and blest.

Then boldly let us venture;
 This, this is worth the cost,
 Though dangers we encounter
 Though everything be lost.
 O world, how vain thy call!
 We follow Him who went before.

—*Translated by Mrs. Findlater.*

“*Siegesfuerst und Ehrenkœnig*”

Is thus translated :

Conquering Prince and Lord of Glory,
 Majesty enthroned in light!
 All the heavens are small before Thee,
 Far beyond them spreads Thy might.
 Shall I not fall at Thy feet,
 And my heart with rapture beat;
 Now Thy glory is displayed,
 Thine ere yet the worlds were made.

Far and wide, Thou heavenly Sun,
 Now Thy brightness streams abroad,
 And heaven's host anew have won
 Light and gladness from its Lord.

Mark how yon unnumbered throng
Welcome Thee with joyous song.
See Thy children, weak and few,
Here would cry Hosannas, too.

Of Thy cup shall I not drink ?
Now Thy glories o'er me shine,
Shall my courage ever sink ?
Now I know all power is Thine,
I will trust Thee, O my King !
And will fear no earthly thing.
Henceforth wil' I bow the knee
To no ruler, save to Thee.

Power and Spirit now o'erflow,
On me also be they poured
Till Thy last and mightiest foe
Hath been made Thy footstool, Lord.
Yea, let earth's remotest end
To Thy righteous sceptre bend.
Make Thy way before Thee plain,
O'er all hearts and spirits reign.

Lo, Thy presence filleth now
All Thy Church in every place.
To my heart, Oh, enter Thou ;
See it thirsteth for Thy grace ;
Come, Thou King of Glory, come,
Deign to make my heart Thy home ;
There abide and rule alone,
As upon Thy heavenly throne.

Parting dost Thou bring Thy life
God and heaven most inly near ;
Let me rise o'er earthly strife,
As though still I saw Thee near ;
And my heart transplanted hence,
Strange to earth, and time, and sense.
Dwell with Thee in heaven e'en now,
Where our only joy art Thou.

"Brunn alles Hells, Dich ehren wir."

A beautiful morning hymn :

Thee, Fount of Blessing, we adore !
Lo, we unlock our lips, before
Thy Godhead's deep of holiness ;
O deign to hear us now and bless.

The Lord, the Maker, with us dwell,
In soul and body shield us well,
And guard us with His sleepless might,
From every ill by day and night.

The Lord, the Savior, Light Divine,
Now cause His face on us to shine,
That seeing Him with perfect faith,
We trust His love for life and death !

The Lord, the Comforter, be near,
Imprint His image deeply here ;
From bonds of sin and dread release,
And give us His unchanging peace !

O Triune God, Thou vast abyss,
Thou everflowing fount of bliss !
Flow through us, heart and soul and will,
With endless praise and blessing fill.

— *Translated by Miss Winkworth.*

Other beautiful hymns, which are translations of Tersteegen's, are found in many hymn books, as :

"God calling, yet shall I not hear."

"O Thou, to whose all-searching sight."

"Thou hidden love of God, whose light."

"How sweet it is when wean'd from all."

"The heart of man must something love."

"The cross is ever good."

"My great High Priest art Thou."

It is a great pity that the new Hymnal of the Reformed Church of the United States has so few hymns by Reformed authors. It has been criticized by one of the ablest hymn critics in America as not being Reformed, because it does not do honor to the hymn writers of its own Church.

IV.

REFORMED CHURCH ORDERS AGAINST ALTARS.

Church Order of Count John of Dillenburg (1581): "Since we ourselves intended to come to Siegen in order to remove certain things from the churches which are retained from the papacy, but not approved of in God's Word, and, therefore, necessarily to be corrected, especially idols, tablets, organs, *altars*, golden cups, wafers, small or large."—*Cuno, Count of Dillenburg, page 119-120.*

Church Order of Tecklenburg (1588): "As in the churches of our country the *altars*, golden cups and wafers are still in existence and use, the preacher shall endeavor to remove them."—*Richter, Kirchenordnung, Vol. II., page 47.*

Bremen Church Order (1595): "And as we Christians in the New Testament cannot speak of either *altars* or sacrifices, it is right that altars be removed and in their places tables covered with a cloth be placed in the churches and

used for the communion.”—*Herzog's Encyclopædia*, Vol. I., page 312.

General Synod of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark (1610): “The government shall be requested to remove all pictures, altars and other idolatrous relics.”—*Heppe, Evangelical Church of Cleve and Mark*, page 172.

The four main historians of the different Reformed Churches of Germany are Hausser of the Palatinate Church, Gæbel of the Rhenish Church, Heppe of the Hessian Church, and Hering of the Brandenburg Church.

Hausser says: “Out of all the churches, and from all the highways, altars, crucifixes, etc., were removed as the work of idols, and the gowns and robes were distributed among the poor.”—*History of the Rhine Palatinate*, Vol. II., page 31.

Gæbel says: “Baptisms and weddings in an empty church, as in a holy place, without the presence of the congregation, could not or cannot take place, according to the Reformed view, which does not know of or want an altar or outward sanctuary.”

Heppe has been quoted above.

Hering says: “The mayor of the Mark, in the name of the Elector, ordered that crucifixes, pictures and both altars be entirely taken away, and on the contrary a table placed in the choir.”—*Beginning of the Reformed Church in Brandenburg*, Vol. I., page 281.

The two following theses were unanimously adopted by the large fifth conference of Reformed pastors and assistants held at Detmold, June 20, 1867 :

“The Biblical and Reformed communion table has nothing to do with the Roman *altar*.”

“*Altar*, pictures, crucifixes, lights and other ornaments destroy the sublime simplicity of the Lord, who works with the least visible means.”

Herzog says : “According to the Reformed view, there is no room for an *altar* in the Christian worship. For an altar presupposes a visible material sacrifice that is offered on it, but the New Testament knows nothing of such a sacrifice.”—*Encyclopaedia*, Vol. I., page 312.

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ERRATA.

- Page 15, line 5, 1638 should be 1635.
Page 35, line 13, Dillsberg should be Dilsberg.
Page 65, line 3, Cleve should be Berg.
Page 79, line 3, and page 81, last line, Hadamer should be Hadamar.
Page 83, line 2, and page 91, line 15, Dillenberg should be Dillenburg.
Page 151, line 22, Reinhar should be Reinhard.
Page 180, note, Konigsburg should be Konigsberg, and Ukernark should be Ukermark.
Page 190, note, Reith should be Reich.
Page 307, line 7, Yung should be Jung.
Page 320, line 19, Nethenus should be Copper.
Page 408, line 18, Buchwalder should read Buchfelder.
Page 413, Wolf should read Wolff.
Page 486, line 6, Tecklenberg should read Tecklenburg.
Page 587, line 11, Calminus should be Calaminus.
Page 606, line 22, Morian should read Monau.
Page 612, line 17, Cocceius should be Cocceius.
Page 613, lines 24 and 25 should read, "Rather than Melancthon's, yes Zwingli held it too before either of them."
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NOTE.—The author wishes to state that these errata are necessary mainly owing to his difficulty with German proper names.





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